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# DWELLING SPACE IN EASTERN ASIA

Richard ZGUSTA

1991

## Profile of the Author :

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大阪外国語大学学術研究双書 4

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# CONTENTS

1	Introduction .....	1
1.1	Evolution of space use in the Japanese house .....	1
1.2	Significance of the dwelling interior .....	5
1.3	The quadripartite pattern .....	11
1.4	Previous studies .....	30
1.5	Organization .....	31
1.6	Acquisition and presentation of data .....	34
2	Eastern Asia .....	36
2.1	Literature .....	36
2.2	Dwellings of mainly insular southeast Asia that tend to spatially favor the female element .....	41
2.2.1	West Indonesian dwellings spatially expressing matrilocality of household (Java, Borneo, Sumatra) .....	41
2.2.2	The dwelling and granary (Taiwan, Luzon) .....	74
2.2.3	Affinal relations and dwelling space (East Indonesia, Batak) .....	83
2.2.4	Quadripartite patterns of space use in southeast Asia (Celebes, Nias, south Indochina, north Indochina) .....	112
2.2.5	Summary .....	131
2.3	Dwellings of continental eastern Asia that tend to spatially favor the male element .....	133
2.3.1	Dwellings of mainland southeast Asia (Thailand, Burma, Assam) .....	133
2.3.2	Han dwelling .....	149
2.3.3	Spatial relations in northeast Asian dwellings .....	157
2.3.4	Summary .....	190

3	Japan .....	192
3.1	Literature .....	192
3.2	The quadripartite pattern in space use in the Ainu dwelling .....	193
3.3	The quadripartite pattern in space use in the Japanese rural dwelling .....	201
3.4	The quadripartite pattern in space use in the Ryukyuan dwelling .....	247
3.5	Ainu, mainland Japanese and Ryukyuan patterns of dwelling space arrangement compared .....	252
4	Discussion and conclusions .....	254
4.1	The Japanese dwelling space compared with northeast and southeast Asia .....	254
4.2	The occupancy of the interior part of dwelling space ...	267
4.3	The quadripartite pattern .....	271
	Glossary .....	279
	References cited .....	284

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The present study focuses on three separate but interrelated problems concerning the seating arrangement and use of space in the dwelling. First, it departs from the fact that the origin of the Japanese dwelling is considered by many scholars to represent a fusion of northeast Asian and southeast Asian elements, and investigates the possibility of an application of such a view to the non-material aspects of the dwelling. Second, it examines the validity and possibility of extension of Paulson's suggestion according to which the interiority within a dwelling implies significance of the person(s) associated with it, which has wider social consequences. Third, it notes and makes use of the fact that the quadripartite pattern of organization of dwelling space has an extensive occurrence throughout the world, including Japan and most parts of eastern Asia. Geographically, the discussion of this study encompasses the culture areas of southeast, east and northeast Asia, and Japan, the former three in order to clarify the typological and culture-historical position of the problem concerning the latter. The first point thus becomes the principal hypothetical goal of this study, the second is the theoretical means of attaining it and the third is the methodological framework for the whole study.

Below is a more detailed introduction of the three problems.

### 1.1 EVOLUTION OF SPACE USE IN THE JAPANESE HOUSE

The development of the Japanese dwelling is marked by the existence of two widely different house forms, the semi-subterranean or subterranean dwellings (pithouses) and the raised-floor (pile) dwellings. The former represents the general architecture during the Jomon Era that continued to dominate the vernacular

architecture during the Yayoi, Kofun, Nara and Heian Eras, and survived in isolated parts of Tohoku region until the middle Tokugawa Era and in the form of the MUR0 (storage hut built over a pit) until World War II. The latter can safely be verified as having existed in the Yayoi Era when it served primarily as a granary, but as the society had undergone stratification, the social hierarchy was also manifested in residential inequality. The function of the raised-floor granary was to store not only grain but also other treasured objects, hence it was a place of prestige and as such it came to serve as a residence for the elite. Further, the agricultural ritual gave the granary the character of sacredness, and the granary form eventually gave rise to the shrine architecture, which is today represented by the shrines of Ise and Izumo. The term KURA (storage house, granary) still preserved much prestige and was used in combination with other terms in reference to the aristocratic residences until the Middle Ages. The coexistence of pithouses with raised-floor dwellings for so many centuries naturally resulted in a synthesis: the Japanese peasant-dwelling of today, which has finalized the stabilization of its form by the 17th century, consists of a residential section which is characterized by a floor raised on short (about half a meter high) piles, and a ground-level non-residential area which constitutes the front part of the dwelling. The mildly raised floor originally appeared in the back part of the dwelling, which dominated before the Kamakura and Muromachi Eras when the formal guest room began to appear next to the room which is at present known as the NANDO (storage room, bedroom). This room is characterized by strong agricultural symbolism, is often used as the household's granary, and in all cases serves as the storage area for the household's treasured properties. The synthesis in the Japanese dwelling of elements of the pithouse, now represented by the entrance area which serves as a space for working and cooking, and of the raised floor granary, has been directed both from the front and back, and stabilized in the middle where the central DAIKOKU-BASHIRA (main column) is located.

Such is a very simplified version of the view of the archi-

itecture-historians who argue for the convergent evolution of the Japanese dwelling. Naturally, there are a number of other theories, including the opposite unilineal one, according to which both the high-pile and low-pile dwellings have evolved directly from the pithouse. These arguments obviously do not involve the dwelling alone, but have wider implications in the reconstruction of Japanese culture-history, as the convergent evolution theory is based on the premise that the pithouse, while being indigenous to early Japan, was a cultural element shared with the neighboring northeast Asian continent, while the pile-dwelling, which may have already existed in the southern regions of Japan during the Jomon Era, assumed its importance as a result of the cultural changes initiated by agricultural influences from the regions south of Japan. The unilineal theory argues for an internally stimulated evolution in which external influences, if any, played a marginal role. (Naturally, a number of intermediate variants have been postulated as well.)

No matter how hypothetical and even simplistic the former theory may appear, it cannot be totally dismissed, because it is a geographic fact that Japan not only is located between the areas of the two architectural traditions, but is in fact overlapped by them. The subterranean dwelling, which in prehistoric times was present throughout northern Eurasia and America and as far south as northern China (Yangshao culture), characterizes the present-day (ethnographic) ethnic groups of northeastern Asia such as the Koryak, Kamchadal/Itelmen, Nivkh, Sakhalin and Kuril Ainu and some others who inhabit northeast Asia. But also it is present among the Atayal, and in the form of semi-subterranean dwellings among other Taiwanese aboriginal groups. In Chesnov's (1976:119) view, the dry-season subterranean men's house of the Jarai of Indochina represents a southern extreme of the pithouse tradition within the Asian Pacific culture complex, in which certain cultural traits typical for the coastal zone of northeast Asia have been diffused by sea routes far south, and vice versa.

The pile-dwelling architecture is widely distributed in southeast Asia, and it is generally believed at present that their origin

elsewhere and diffusion to southeast Asia was unlikely; rather, their consistent distribution throughout southeast Asia indicates that they originated and evolved locally. Pile-dwellings are found in many parts of the world (including south America, Africa etc.), but generally are confined to swampy and coastal areas where they fulfill their primary ecological function; in southeast Asia, on the contrary, they are present under various ecological circumstances. Toward north along the Pacific coast of Asia, the distribution of the pile-dwelling does not end in Japan but includes the summer dwelling of the Nivkh, the Itelmen (including the Kamchadal subgroup) and other peoples who in winter inhabit pithouses. A characteristic feature on the Nivkh pile-dwelling, which is also used as a store-house, are the short horizontally placed pieces of wood that remind of the rat-guards widespread in southeast Asia, which would not be indispensable in storage of non-agricultural products, and rather point south for their origins. Likewise, its entrance veranda is a trait that typifies southeast Asian architecture. In the opinion of some architecture specialists, some Japanese pile-dwellings, e.g. those depicted on the KAOKUMON bronze mirror of Samida tumulus, HANIWA clay models and to a degree the Ise and Izumo shrines, are marked by certain elements (e.g. roof) distinctly associated with the southeast Asian architecture.

The pithouse should thus be considered a northern idea, which continues as far south as to Taiwan and perhaps even Indochina, while the tradition of the pile-dwelling is concentrated in the south but is distributed as far north as Kamchatka. Japan is hence located in the center of the overlap of these two traditions, and the conditions for their coexistence there are favorable.

As will be shown in section 2.3.3, the use of space in the pithouse of northeast Asia closely corresponds to that in other forms of dwellings in that region, and the hypothetically reconstructed space arrangement in the Jomon dwellings suggests a close relationship with it. It can similarly be hypothesized that the pile-dwelling, being associated with southeast Asian architecture, includes certain symbolic elements of that area that

also affect the use of space. While the focus of the former is the seating arrangement around the hearth, the latter, namely that of the archipelago, in addition concentrates on the economic and ritual custodianship of the granary that dominates the dwelling symbolism. Hence, it is one of the purposes of this study to determine whether any geographically identifiable cultural strata can be discerned in the Japanese dwelling.

For this reason, a large section of this study is devoted to the seating arrangement and its function of household members among ethnic groups of southeast and northeast Asia. A by-product of this effort will be an attempt of distinguishing various types of space use in dwellings of southeast Asia, and an elaboration and revision of the existing typology of seating arrangement in dwellings of northeast Asia (Raenk 1951). The Han (Chinese) dwelling space is also briefly touched upon.

## 1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DWELLING INTERIOR

The central theme in the writings of Gustav Raenk (1949, 1951) is that the whole area of northern Eurasia, including central Asia, is characterized by the phenomenon of the household altar located in the back of the dwelling, generally opposite the entrance, and that the area associated with the altar is of the highest value within the dwelling and serves as a seat-of-honor. Raenk (1951:158-174) also noted that such a situation also predominates in Chinese and Mesopotamian palaces, as well as throughout northern Africa, and he attributed it to cultural diffusion from northern Eurasia, in the form of either a temporary domination by the central Asian nomads (China, Mesopotamia), or migrations.

Concerning the tent of the Siberian hunting and reindeer-breeding peoples, Paulson (1952:65) has summarized and elaborated Raenk's ideas and extended them to cover north America as follows:

"Sociologically it is therefore the man who reigns supreme



in the 'holy place', and ousts the women toward the doorside. The rear part of the dwelling, especially the circular tents of the migratory peoples of the great Northern Interior Area, thus assumes the character of a 'male side'. But in America this trait is far less distinct than in North Eurasia, where patriarchalism is more strongly developed. (...) The primitive conception of 'purity' ... lies at the bottom of this phenomenon ... The 'purity' is a quality of all that is one's 'own', i.e., that belongs to one's own group (family, sib) and especially to its consanguineous members. In our region the male element of the unity is contrasted to the alien, the dangerous', which manifests itself not only in strangers but also in their own 'outsiders', the female members of the group. (...) Only honored guests are allowed to share the holy place with the fathers of the family."

Paulson is using the term patriarchalism, but his subsequent explanation leaves no doubt that, in fact, he is speaking of patrilineal kinship. He says that patriarchalism is less developed in north America than in Siberia, which is a statement that may require some further elaboration; and therefore, he says, the trait of the back of the dwelling being considered superior and male in the former is less distinct than in the latter. Obviously, the brief format of Paulson's paper restricted the elaboration of his ideas, and consequently there is a number of unclear points. In America, where there are many matrilineal societies, which side of the dwelling do women occupy there? He gives five brief examples from North America (Naskapi, Cree, Ojibwa, "Northwest Coast" and "the Plains") without referring to the social structure.

A very quick glance at two randomly picked non-patrilineal societies of North America indicates that the actual situation appears to be more complex than the one envisioned by Paulson. Among the Penobscot Indians, the seat opposite the entrance behind the hearth is described as one of the seats-of-honor and is occupied by the housewife, while the male household head's seat is on a side close to the entrance (Speck 1940:29); however, the Penobscot are not matrilineal as one would expect following

Paulson's allusion, but bilateral. On the other hand, the Navajo are matrilineal, but the seat-of-honor opposite the entrance is occupied by the household head or a medicine man, while the women sit on his right-hand side and men on his left-hand side (Kluckhohn 1962:90). It is thus clear that Paulson's suggestion as applied to social structure must be taken with caution. Matrilineal or patrilineal descent does not always correspond with the men's and women's ritual position (as well as economic status; Paulson does not emphasize the fact that household's treasured possessions are generally kept in the back of the dwelling, often in the proximity of the altar, far from the door, and that its custodianship may be taken as an indicator of the person's economical status) within the household as there are numerous factors other than descent type that determine household members' hierarchy (e.g. division of labor, type of economy, religious orientation etc.).

Likewise, there are many instances in ethnography where the relative position of men and women is spatially expressed not only within a dwelling, but more importantly within the whole settlement, e.g., men tend to gravitate toward a centrally located ceremonial structure in a concentric circular settlement even within the space of their own household and thus claim the entrance area of dwellings as their domain, relegating their wives and daughters to the peripheral back parts of dwellings.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that just as in religious structures (Christian churches, Buddhist temples etc.), and in domestic dwellings as well (if they accommodate ritually sanctioned corporate household units), the focal place such as an altar or main column is located either in the center or, more frequently in vernacular dwellings, far from the entrance, generally opposite it, where it represents centrality by virtue of its interior character, and the access to that area is restricted to certain individuals. On the other hand, few restrictions are applied to the entrance area. In both the public religious and the more secular domestic structures, the ranking of individuals is often traced according to the proximity to and distance from the altar and the entrance, i.e. individuals of a high status are likely

to be seated near the altar and those of a low rank nearer the entrance. While in the religious structure the ranking either corresponds with that in the whole community, or changes according to a situation, e.g. at a condolence ceremony it is the relatives of the deceased who assume the interior position, the dwelling space expresses ranking of the small group of individuals that forms a household, and on special occasions a guest. Whereas in the seating order in the public structure of the community, or in the settlement pattern of the community, various details concerning both rank and kinship relations are spatially expressed, the dwelling space generally expresses only the ranking of household members which is manifested in proximity toward interior (cult area, storage of valuables) or exterior (the entrance). Naturally, ethnography provides numerous cases in which a dwelling accommodates a large number of individuals, generally related consanguineally or affinally, and thus the dwelling presents a complex network of statuses and relations that are manifested in the seating arrangement; however, such dwellings which do not clearly differentiate from the community are a relative minority. In the areas under consideration in this study, a majority of dwellings accommodate nuclear or stem families; consequently, for the purposes of comparative discussion, such households, being the smallest common denominator, will be emphasized. (Of course, during ceremonies and public meetings inside a dwelling when a large number of relatives and other persons are present, the seating order can be a valuable source of information on the spatialization of kinship and other forms of spatial symbolism; however, ethnographic literature very rarely includes such a description.) In the single-family household, the main unit relevant to the spatial organization is the male household head and the housewife. The children, especially of low age, are mobile and few restrictions are applied to them; on formal occasions and during meals their seating arrangement expresses an order according to age and sex, the latter being determined by the spatial categories of the household head and the housewife. The presence of any other

married couple generally also conforms to the same dual category. Hence the position of the household head and the housewife often becomes the model for sexual dichotomy within the dwelling, the household head's domain being an area of male activities and housewife's of female activities. Focusing on the two individuals as the representatives of the sexes in the dwelling space, this direction of the present study, therefore, enters the field of gender anthropology. Instead of Paulson's suggestion of the manifestation of descent group in the dwelling, this study will rather pay attention to the relative rank of either marriage partner and by extension of either sex, and its spatial expression within the dwelling. Such an approach will, however, automatically impose major limitations, as no methodology exists for comparative treatment of gender anthropology, in contrast to that of descent systems.

Although there are important community centers in some areas discussed in the present study (e.g. eastern Indonesia), dwellings there nevertheless maintain much autonomy from the community, which is ritually emphasized by the presence in the dwelling of a cult area that has the function of a center of the household and a focal point in the household members' seating order. It thus appears safe to apply Paulson's notion of the significance of the back-front division to the dwellings throughout eastern Asia.

It will be shown in the next section that Paulson's suggestion of "the man who reigns supreme in the 'holy place'", i.e. in the interior of the-dwelling, "and ousts the women toward the doorside" can be applied, in addition to Siberia, to the mountainous parts of mainland southeast Asia, though in less extreme terms and with less certainty as the availability of data is rather limited. The islands of southeast Asia indicate a reverse situation, not contradicting Paulson's hypothesis but rather strengthening it by extending its argument to the fact that high economic and ritual position of women is expressed by the interiority of their domain. Throughout Indonesia, the housewife is identified with the physical house itself, especially its interior (or central, as these terms are almost interchangeable)

part, while the masculine domain is the external veranda. The spatial centrality of women in several non-patrilineal Indonesian, especially west Indonesian societies corresponds to their position in households that are described as matrifocal. This matrifocality in Indonesia is often underlied by the women's role in agriculture and its cult, and is clearly discernible in the Javanese dwelling, whose ritual room, with an altar to a female agricultural deity, is strictly the housewife's domain. Correspondingly, the household head's lack of practical importance in the household matters is spatially expressed in the exterior and peripheral character of his activity zone within the dwelling.

Following Gonzalez' (1970) and Tanner's (1974) definitions of matrifocality, the Japanese household is certainly not matrifocal; its patrilineal bias is a hindrance to the formation of matrifocal relations in it. Yet the agricultural symbolism in the Japanese house closely resembles the situation in insular southeast Asia, e.g. Java, where there is also a special granary-room at the back of the dwelling containing an altar to a female agricultural deity (NANDO-GAMI) which is central in the household cult and the practitioner of rituals to whom is the housewife; hence there are conditions that favor a high position of the housewife on the domestic level. Conditions that enhance the housewife's status are discernible on the non-ritual level as well. The Japanese household is not necessarily a kinship unit, hence it differs from the concept of family; yet its "inner core" which includes the children and the housewife (cf. Gonzalez 1970) constitutes a permanent emotional bond which assumes a particularly prominent form in the mother-son relationship. In this framework, the household head belongs to the outer crust, a category that includes non-consanguineal members of the household. Certain elements of matrifocal tendencies may thus be discernible in the Japanese household as well.

Therefore this direction of the present study will focus on the relationship between the core in the dwelling space, i.e., center, interior, back, and the core of the household, i.e. either the household head or the housewife.

### 1.3 THE QUADRIPARTITE PATTERN

Entering a dwelling, one immediately recognizes four basic directions on the horizontal plane, especially when standing in the middle, i.e. back, front, right and left. Only one vertical direction is recognized, i.e. from the floor level upward. Notions concerning these five directions vary from culture to culture; nevertheless, their recognition is practically universal in the form of two horizontal axes, i.e. one connecting the door with a point at the wall opposite it and one perpendicular to it, bisecting it in the center, and one vertical axis. This cross-cultural perception of horizontal and vertical space coincides with the scientific analysis of the concept of dimension, in which the horizontal plan consists of the axis  $x$  and the axis  $y$  bisecting it at a point  $o$ , and one axis  $z$  represents verticality.

Of the three axes, only the two horizontal ones are pertinent to the residential space, i.e. the floor of the dwelling. While in the three-dimensional scheme the axes  $x$  and  $y$  stand together in their opposition against the vertical axis  $z$ , in the two-dimensional plane where both axes are horizontal  $x$  becomes opposite to  $y$ , because of its perpendicularity to it, and vis-a-vis the horizontal axis in the relation of the divided co-variation  $((a,b),c)$ , it assumes the character of verticality. (It may be either of the perpendicular axes that represents verticality on the horizontal plane.) Here again, the cross-cultural indigenous cognitive system precisely correlates with the concept of dimension, and the horizontal axis with the vertical character generally coincides with the directions upstream-downstream, toward-away from the mountains, away from-toward the sea, etc., and this axis indicates a "high" section and a "low" one in the dwelling space, the borderline between which is the perpendicular axis. This will be discussed in detail in section 2.3.3 and thereafter.

The quadripartite arrangement of space, formed by bisection of the two horizontal axes, is determined directly by the dwelling form; i.e., it is the result of the fact that the dwelling consists of four walls and four corners, and the hearth which in many cultures is considered to be the center of household activities, likewise consists of four sides, often named, which provide reference for the spatial division of the whole dwelling; therefore, all the spatial categories of the dwelling are projected in the four parts. This pattern may be less distinct in dwellings of the circular plan; nevertheless, even in them the quadripartite division is possible and common, as the door often faces a cardinal direction and consequently the dwelling space is conceived according to the intersection of the cardinal points in its middle; various physical landmarks may also become the reference for quadripartite reckoning.

The notion of dwelling space being characterized by a series of opposition sets, e.g. high-low, superior-inferior, right-left, male-female, sacred-profane etc., has been quite strong in anthropological literature, and it has gained prominence especially in writings of structuralists. Such a view of the dwelling space has few serious opponents, as the division of space into opposite notions in indigenous cognition is a fact that can be readily verified by an ethnographic inquiry. Thus for example, as mentioned above, the altar is rarely located in the proximity of the entrance, and often is far from the kitchen, which is in many cultures considered to be, as an area of disposal of rubbish, a profane zone. The male-female dichotomy within a dwelling is also a near-universal phenomenon, said to have existed as early as during the Paleolithic in Siberia (Gerasimov 1964), and which at present may exist either as a subtle tendency or sharp division marked by prohibitions in the majority of world cultures. The polarization of the opposites of back and front is also universal, although, like the other pairs of oppositions, is applied in diverse ways to the dwelling space (e.g. in Siberia the door side is "back" and its opposite side is "front"; "right" and "left" are also perceived by various cultures in various ways, although their

presence in dwellings is recognized universally).

In especially post-war anthropological literature, the discussion of selected traits that are contraposed as binary sets is summarized generally in the form of two parallel columns. However, such summaries, though intended to simplify the basic principles of the organization of space, in many ways confuse the matter and reveal basic inconsistencies that such single-dimension binary approach introduces. If, for example, one column lists such items as right, central, back, above, male, superior and sacred, and the matching points in the other are left, peripheral, front, below, female, inferior and profane, it becomes obvious that additional information must be provided in order to comprehend the interrelationship among these vertically arranged items. With so much spatial overlapping (e.g. right=central=back=above), it is difficult to discern how the binary system is reflected in the house in the final analysis. This study does not question the validity of the binary approach as applied to the analysis of dwelling space; rather, it attempts to find application of opposition sets to the quadripartite pattern.

It will be seen that in spite of the differentiation between the two axes, e.g. one that expresses verticality, there are numerous instances when, at least under certain circumstances and for certain purposes, the two axes carry synonymous elements; i.e., certain opposition pairs are duplicated perpendicularly. The quadripartite pattern thus does not consist of four independent quarters, but rather of a set of two opposite halves bisected perpendicularly by another set, both sharing a number of binary elements, and in some cases a majority of the elements coincide. The total sum of of the relations of oppositions is expressed diagonally. If, for example, the back of the dwelling is characterized by the notion A and front by the opposite B, and the same applies to

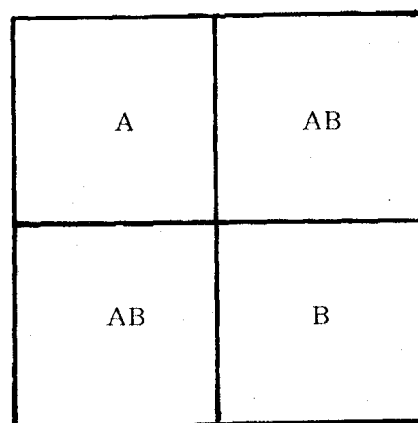


Fig. 1



the perpendicular right and left, the final opposition of A against B is diagonal and the remaining two quarters, though ordinarily not in all respects identical, are neutral. Thus, the quadripartite system is closely related to the tripartite one, as the two "neutral" zones may be reduced to one because of their similar qualities; however, such reduction would only remain schematic and would be inapplicable to the spatial division according to the two perpendicular axes; furthermore, such reduction would be misleading as the two neutral zones are rarely identical and in fact may even be marked by a set of other oppositions auxiliary to the A vs. B. The diagonal relation of oppositions is thus the main characteristic feature of the quadripartite pattern, and may be the mark of its identification even in those cases where the quadripartite division is not readily discernible. It will be seen in this study that in the areas under discussion such points of opposition as altar-kitchen, altar-entrance, male zone-female zone are regularly situated on a diagonal line. It will also be seen that while the quadripartite division constitutes an indigenous category, the diagonal sum of this pattern is usually evident only to the analyst.

The variation among the diverse quadripartite patterns of domestic space use consists of the manner of alignment of the opposite pairs. An example, not necessarily relevant to the dwelling, is the fact that in many cultures there is an alliance between two cardinal points, e.g. east and south against west and north, in order to express one certain notion of opposition, e.g. auspiciousness against inauspiciousness. However, it may be primarily east and west which carry such symbolism, and north and south may carry a different set of primary oppositions to which under different circumstances the notion of east and west allies itself as an supplementary set. Within the context of the particular culture, south never allies itself with west and north with east.

As mentioned above, this study mainly focuses on the sexual dichotomy, and the quadripartite pattern and its resulting diagonal relationship in the dwelling space will be seen from this

perspective.

Below are three examples of the quadripartite pattern that show its mechanism and variations. All the examples are from dwellings of ethnic groups that inhabit other areas than eastern Asia.

### Sakalava

The use of space in the Sakalava dwelling is discussed in Feely-Harnik (1980). It does not appear to differ significantly from other types of dwelling in Madagascar (cf. Coulaud 1982:194 for the house of the Zafimaniry of highland Madagascar). Although several authors (e.g. Dahl 1982:181) stress that the form of the dwelling is very different from the round east African one and hence seems to point to southeast Asia, the use of space in it is quite different from Indonesia.

Both in the dwelling and settlement orientation, cardinal points play an important role. The east-west axis, running transversely through the dwelling, distinguishes the northern, interior and southern, exterior halves. The northern half in the Zafimaniry house is in Coulaud's words "noble" as it is used for reception of guests, while the southern part is "non-noble" since the kitchen is located there, also it is the place of fowl and formerly domicile of slaves. Similarly in the Sakalava house, the area corresponding with the "noble" half is the domain of the men who own the house. A bed that Dahl identifies as the husband's bed is on this side, and also a shelf that holds ritual material for communication with the ancestors and a prayer mat are there as well. The women's domain of the southern half is associated with the world of the "outside", as women who marry into the Sakalava villages, according to Feeley-Harnik (1980:579), are integrated into the house very imperfectly and always are treated with suspicion. Each half is furnished by its own entrance.

However, the north-south division is about equally important as the east-west division, and in many ways homologous. The

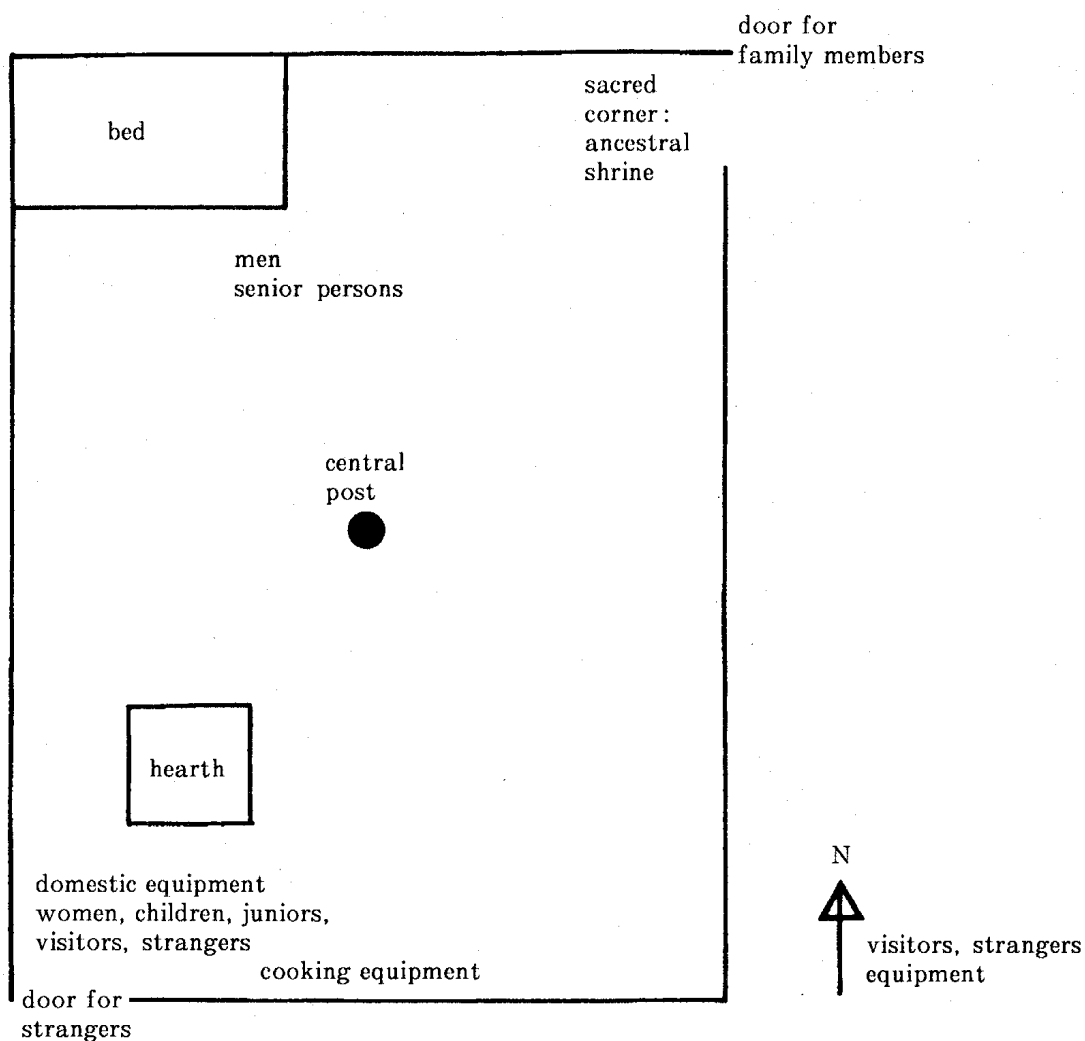


Fig. 2: Sakalava. After Feeley-Harnik 1980:576

logical result is the diagonality of the northeast-southwest corners. The door for agnates and affines and the ancestral shelf are located in the north-eastern corner while the door for strangers (including respected and elderly guests who must enter through this door and only then proceed "up" along the diagonal line to the "senior" area, but junior visitors remain in the exterior half) is in the diagonally opposite corner.

The quadripartite pattern is emphasized by the layout of various objects along the four walls: the north wall area contains such articles as weapons, haversack and tinderbox, western wall agricultural equipment such as a spade, machete and axe, southern wall cooking equipment and eastern wall water containers. Sexual division, as these domestic articles symbolize,

is more pronounced in the north-south division. It is significant that the hearth is placed in the southwestern division, diagonally opposite the sacred corner, which is a phenomenon common to many areas of the world. The symbolic center of the dwelling is the central column, which according to a writer cited by Feeley-Harnik, is described as the seat-of-honor. There is thus a clear association of the center with the "interior" corner, a feature which also has numerous cross-cultural parallels.

The dwelling layout coincides with that of the Sakalava settlement (plan in Dahl 1982:183). The sacred Tamarind tree stands in the center. The chief's house and sacrifice poles are in the northeastern corner, and diagonally opposite it is an area where the fowl is kept.

The Sakalava dwelling space strongly emphasizes the man's superior position over the woman's as two favorable divisions out of the four that make up the floor area are allocated to them.

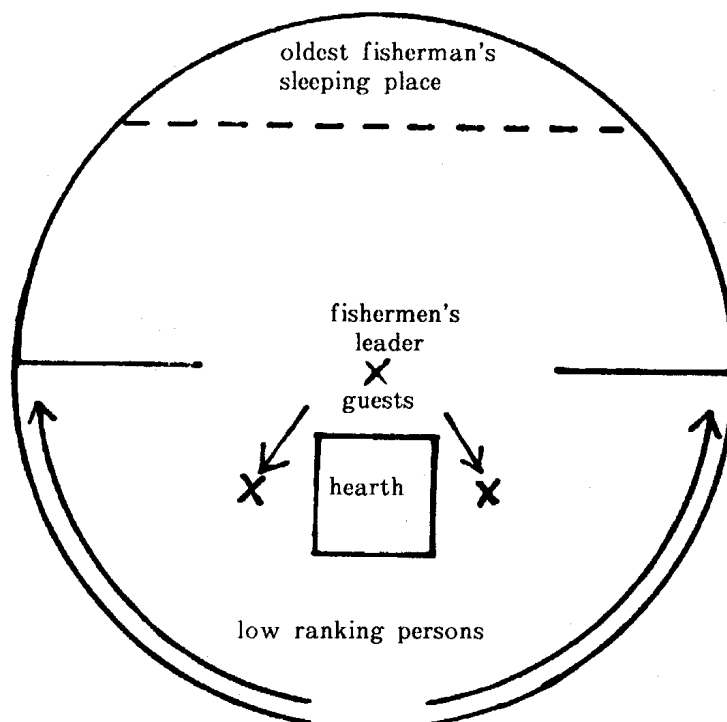
#### Eastern, central and northern Europe

A single type of organization of dwelling space is found in eastern, central and northern Europe, namely in Russia, Scandinavia, the Baltic countries, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, southern Germany and German Switzerland. According to Raenk (1949) who has treated this problem in detail, this type is an extension of the larger Eurasian type which is also prevalent among the south Siberian and central Asian pastoral nomads and its modified version can also be found elsewhere. Its principal feature is the diagonal relationship of the two main landmarks, the stove and the holy corner, and elements associated with them, in the main room which has developed from single-room houses (STUBE and related terms in Germanic, IZBA etc. in Slavic languages). The diagonality as the organizing principle is a result of the quadripartite organization of space.

Raenk's inclusion of this type to that of the Asian pastoral

nomads is rather cautious, as he realized that the transition of this type to that of the north Eurasian hunters and reindeer breeders is gradual. This graduality can also be observed historically, and it is accompanied by the development from an open hearth which was placed in the middle of the one-room dwelling to the earthen stove in one corner, with an intermediate stage of the open hearth being located side-by-side with the stove. The distribution of space in the Hungarian fishermen's hut can be considered to represent the original stage with only an open hearth at center-front and few, if any, transparent indications of a quadripartite pattern. The seating and sleeping arrangement of this dwelling is identical with that of the northern hunters, e.g. the Lapps, in which the rank is expressed by the distance from the entrance; however, this analogy is incomplete because of the exclusion of women in the Hungarian fishing hut. Similarly, the 16th century Norwegian dwelling which only has an open hearth in the middle, provides little to identify quadripartite organization, except for the indication of the "high seat" in one corner.

When compared with later Norwegian dwelling space in which the hearth is absent, it becomes evident that the "high seat" corner diagonally opposite the hearth has increased its value by limiting the length of the table (which may also have been



caused by the de- Fig. 3: Hungarian fishing hut. After Gunda 1962:390

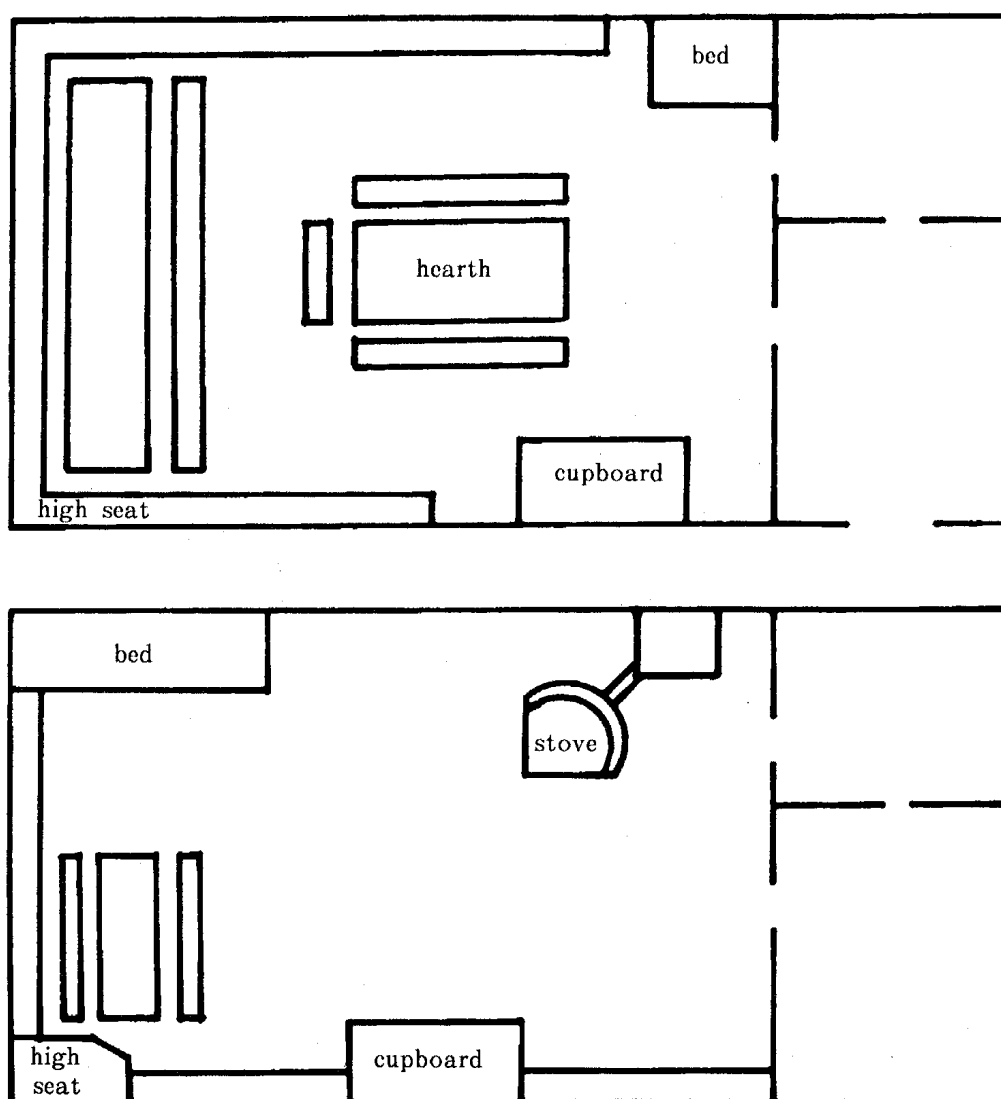


Fig. 4: Norwegian. After Sundt 1862

crease in household size), itself a cult object, to the corner instead of the whole length of the wall opposite the entrance (Fig. 4).

Gunda's (1962:374) division of space in the Hungarian dwelling of Slovakia is applicable to the present-day situation in all the regions of eastern, northern and central Europe, varying are only the position of the stove and the holy corner, which may be either at right of left but must always be diagonally opposite, and the position of the side of the main door to the dwelling, which does not determine the space organization in the main room.

The holy corner which has various designations (Norway: high

seat, Bohemia: holy corner, German Switzerland: god's corner, Russia: front, high, honorable, holy, divine, first corner) is the principal section of the room and is associated with east or south. The floor value within the room gradually increases in the direction toward this corner, and the seat of the household head

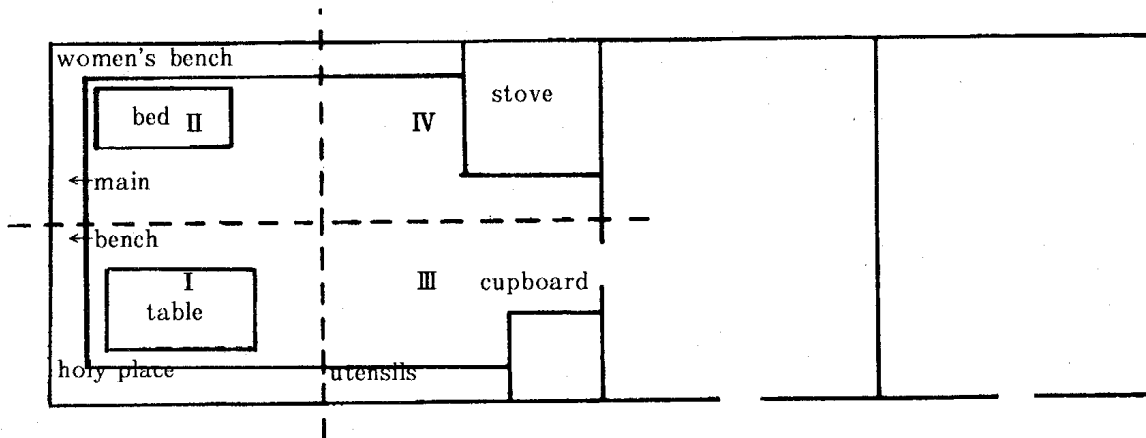


Fig. 5: Hungarian. After Gunda 1962:374. I. cult space, II. women's working and sleeping space, III. economic space, IV. space for the stove

or an important guest is said to be "on the summit" (Baiburin 1983:150). All persons sleep with their heads oriented toward it. Above it are various religious objects, e.g. the crucifix, various saints (in Bohemia especially St. Florian who protects the house from fire), in Russia icons which are referred to as "gods", branches of a sacred willow tree etc. In Russia it is believed that this corner is the residence of the house-protecting spirit (DOMOVUI) (Baiburin 1983:152). Photographs of deceased members of the family may also be hung in this corner. It also has a distinct agricultural character as a few ears of the first and last sheaf are placed there, and the straw curtain hung from the ceiling in this corner in Bohemia may also have agricultural significance (Baiburin 1983:153, Frolec 1972:88). Various documents and property are kept in this corner. Connected with the fact that it is associated with east and south, this corner is always lit and its symbolism of the sun is expressed in a variety of ways.

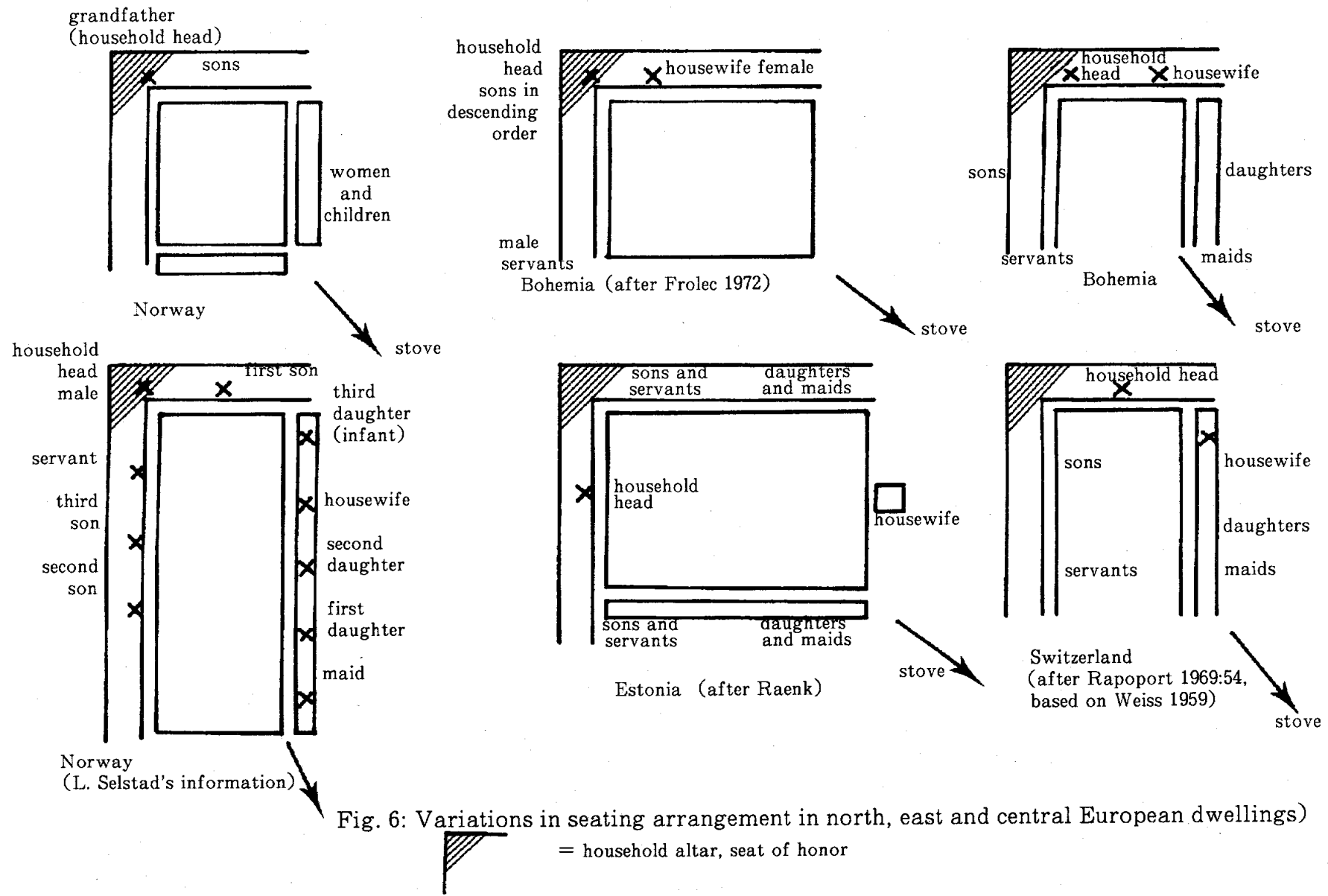
The table, which is an obligatory appurtenance of this corner, has numerous analogies with the altar in a church. Thus, a priest who enters the house to perform rites for a sick person, keeps his

religious paraphernalia on this table. A loaf of bread is kept permanently on the table, originally probably as an offering to deities. In the Ukraine, pieces of "bread of various sizes are arranged on the table in such a way as to signify the sky with principal and secondary stars", and a girls' dance in Bohemia "represents the sun on the table" (Baiburin 1983:155), which is in accordance with the character of the holy corner as a "high" place. Numerous prohibitions pertain to the table.

In the same manner as the holy corner is considered to be high and masculine, the diagonally opposite stove corner is low and feminine. However, the sacred-profane opposition is not fully applicable. Also, it is of a lower status only in comparison with the holy corner, but it has a relatively high rank as compared with the two remaining corners. Certain beliefs concerning death pertain to the stove. For example, in Bohemia it is believed that at death, the spirit sits on the stove, and at Christmas Eve, a dead father may be seen on the stove. However, most beliefs concern women and their activities. When baking bread, for example, the housewife throws a piece of the first loaf to the fire. A bride entering her husband's house for the first time, first of all approaches the stove (Frolec 1972:87). Universally in eastern, northern and central Europe, benches attached to the stove have various designations in the sense of "women's bench", and in Russia the whole corner is termed "women's corner", and may be partitioned off by curtains. In folklore, the stove is anthropomorphized as a woman. On the other hand, in many ways the stove is homologous with the holy corner; e.g. it is also the residence of the house-protecting and ancestral spirit, and some folk riddles attribute it cosmic character (Baiburin 1983: 167).

Although the use of space in the main room of north, central and east European dwellings is almost uniform in the holy corner-stove diagonality and the symbolism associated with it, the seating arrangement around the table widely differs (Fig. 6). Since the distribution of space around the table, being quadripartite by its physical nature, is a miniature version of the use of space in the whole room, it indicates that beyond the basic notion of the holy





corner as a male side and the stove corner as a female side, there are local variations of further organization of space. While the bench along the right (facing the door) wall is universally occupied by men, the transverse bench opposite the door may be used by men (e.g., Norway, Switzerland), by women (Bohemia), or its half closer to the holy corner by men and the other by women (Estonia). If one accepts Raenk's derivation of the east, north and central European type of seating arrangement from the central Asian nomadic type, then the seating arrangement exemplified by Estonia represents the closest one.

Yet there is an important difference between the east, north and central European on the one hand and central Asian and south Siberian patterns of seating arrangement on the other; i.e., a few exceptions aside, the housewife generally does not sit side-by-side with her husband but in a direction suggesting diagonality from the holy corner, i.e. her husband's seat. It corresponds with the fact that the diagonal line from the holy corner to the stove corner is one of superiority, although its ends are not of an equal value. It contrasts with the diagonal line perpendicular to it which is one of inferiority. This is illustrated by the hierarchy of the four quarters that make up the space of this room (Fig. 7).

This type of dwelling space organization is therefore characterized by three interrelated features: 1. it is a decentralized space. A trace of a central pillar can be seen in some regions, e.g. White Russia, where it is known as the "horse pillar" (analogous designation to the ancient Indian ASVA-YUPA which additionally signifies the world pillar), and serves as a borderline between the male and female space, as reflected in folklore (Baiburin 1983:148). 2. Rather, two focal points act as centers of the room/dwelling; there are the holy corner, the center of the male element and the diagonally opposite stove corner, the center of the female

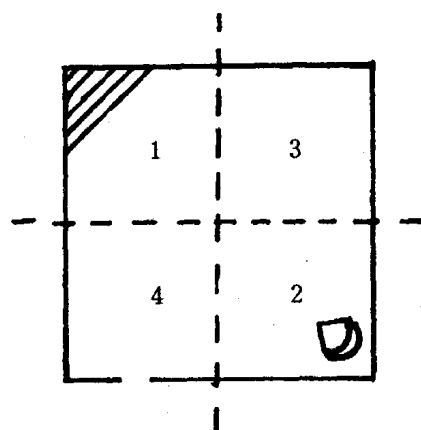


Fig. 7

element. 3. The diagonality is a result of the quadripartite organization of space. All four quarters, dominated by corners, are named, and play an important role in folklore. Conceptually each quarter has its determined function and acts as a separate room.

The space use in east, north and central European dwellings suggests the domestic superiority of the household master. As Frolec (1972:88) states, the "patriarchal character of the seating order is evident from the fact that the household head and male members of the family and of the estate sit on principal sides of the table, which are considered to be honorable seats, and women on lateral sides". This may be applied to the use of space in the whole room. However, it should be emphasized that the male superiority and female inferiority in space value are not absolute oppositions, as both quarters are superior to the remaining two quarters, notably that of the entrance, which are as much male as they are female. (Visitors do not pass through the housewife's space to enter the interior as they do among the Sakalava.)

## Limbu

The use of space in the Limbu dwelling is discussed by Sagant (1973).

Similar patterns are prevalent among all the ethnic groups of that region of Nepal, e.g. Gurung, Rai, Thulung, etc.

Cardinal points, left and right, and other criteria determine the space division within the dwelling; however, they are only secondary in relation to the two main criteria, i.e. the front and back separated by the transverse axis, which is in turn determined by the position of the main entrance, and low and high, divided longitudinally and determined by the distance from a river. Both of these perpendicular divisions carry also a sexual meaning: the men's side is front and high while women's is back and low. This bisected quadripartite sexual division of space also involves the separate nature of two main Limbu religious practitioners. Thus,

the quarters which are purely male and purely female are diagonally opposite each other. The hearth and water storage are also arranged in a diagonal relationship, but are located on a sexually neutral ground. (Both the location of the hearth and water on a neutral ground and their diagonal relationship are very rare occurrences; in most world cultures, the cooking hearth and water storage belong to the domain of the housewife and are one single category). However, for the purpose of the sexual separation, the longitudinal axis is more important than the transverse one, which is evident during ritual impurity when women stay in the low section and men in the high one. For example, during pregnancy the housewife cooks in the high section when her husband is absent; if he enters the house she leaves for the low-back section.

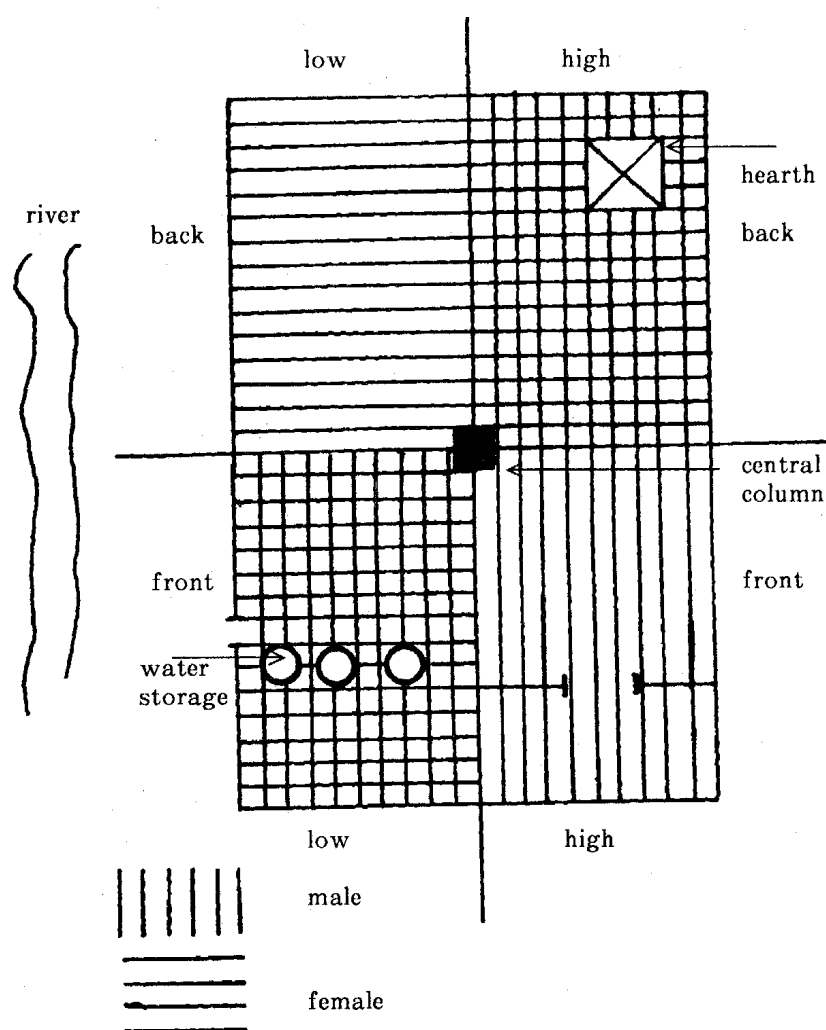


Fig. 8: Limbu. After Sagant 1793

back section. Delivery takes place in the low-back section, and during the following three or four days of impurity the separation of the sexes is observed the most: the hearth at the high section is reserved for the household master and another hearth is installed in the low section for the housewife, infant and midwife. Water tubs are also divided

and the two exit doors, the main door in the high section for the household head and the lateral one in the low section for the housewife, are strictly observed. Spatial restrictions are also strictly adhered to during the purification ritual that terminates the period of pollution.

Front-high/back-low diagonality is also followed in the pattern of storage of the household master's and housewife's property. If the house is occupied by two married sons, the property order is 1. housewife, 2. elder brother's wife, 3. younger brother's wife, toward the back in the low section. In view of the ritual significance of the central pillar, this would seem to indicate a concentric pattern in addition to the quadripartite one; unfortunately, Sagant does not provide the information whether the order of the men's possessions in the high front section follows the direction toward outside or toward the center.

Meals are taken around the hearth, and the seating arrangement in general corresponds with that in the whole house; it is possible to say that, as mentioned above in relation to the north, east and central European dwelling, it is a condensed replica of spatial relationships within the whole dwelling. The household head and the housewife sit opposite each other, in most cases the husband occupies a seat corresponding with the high front, while the housewife's seat corresponds with the high back, and the rest of the male members of the household tend to be seated toward the high and the female ones toward the low sections. Sleeping arrangement in some ways coincides with the seating one; however, another rule becomes evident here, i.e. the wife must sleep on the left side of her husband, and since the heads generally are turned toward the high side, her position becomes more exterior. Sons generally sleep on the outer veranda (detailed discussion of seating and sleeping arrangements in Sagant 1973:58-60).

It is difficult to infer from Sagant's short paper the authority division in the Limbu dwelling space; nevertheless, it may perhaps not be entirely preposterous to characterize the Limbu domestic space as neither specifically male nor female oriented, and that perhaps in certain ways the female element is dominant.

It is the argument of this study that interiority is associated with centrality, and the person who dominates the interior in turn dominates the household. The housewife's seat at meal is coincident with the high back quarter. Domestic rituals are strictly separated sexually, transmitted either in the father-son or mother-daughter line, and usually are mutually exclusive, taking place either in the high or low half, with only one place shared by both sexes, i.e. the central column which is described by Sagant as the "world axis", and a point of

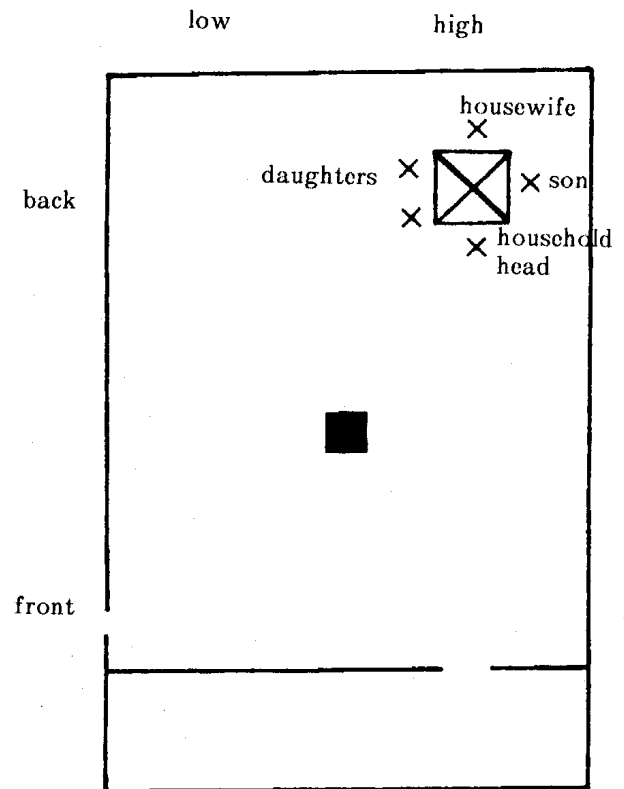


Fig. 9: Limbu seating arrangement at meal. After Sagant 1973

departure for the priest accompanying a departed soul to the afterworld. This column itself, however, has no ancestral quality; rather, the ancestral spirit is located at back of the dwelling and is also associated with the lower half. It is not clear from Sagant's paper (p. 69) whether or how the YUMAA, a "grandmother who on earth represents the god-creator", is related to the ancestral spirit; nevertheless, the ancestral concerns tend to be connected with women, the ancestral shelf and the priest BIJUWA who, unlike the PHEDANGMA is interested in matrilineal ascendances, all of which are spatially concentrated toward the back of the dwelling. Seen in this perspective, the transverse axis assumes the role of the longitudinal axis as the primary division of the sexes in the dwelling for this special ritual purpose. Pursuing this direction of inquiry may be rewarding; however, the data in Sagant's short paper is insufficient for this purpose.

It has been suggested above that the widespread occurrence of the quadripartite pattern of division of dwelling space is related to the universal recognition of the concept of two dimensions. It follows that the concept of two dimensions can be extended to any organized space, and indeed the quadripartite pattern reappears in the organization of space in palaces, temples, settlements, cities and states. The almost universal quadripartite organization of cities, as well as to an extent palaces, temples and states, has been paid abundant attention in literature (e.g. Wheatly 1971, Raglan 1964). In Raglan's (1964:159) opinion, the four quarters of the universe often

"appear as quadrants, that is as quarters of a circle, while at other times they are clearly quarters of a square. In either case they are generally associated with the corner posts of a wooden house. (...) The four quarters and the symbolism attached to them became of great importance almost all over the world."

Both the Chinese and Indian universe is composed of four quarters, and the Bible speaks of four quarters of the earth. The Chinese quadripartite division of the earth corresponds with the quadripartite division of heaven; similar concepts are found among other places in Polynesia, aboriginal America and west Africa.

A quadripartite pattern characterizes the spatial organization of certain islands (e.g. the Polynesian outliers Tikopia and Ontong Java); the same applies to empires such as Inca, Mesopotamia, China and India, as well as smaller state units, e.g. Tabasco in Mexico, Atoni in Indonesia. The universality of the quadripartite notion is especially pertinent to the city, and numerous instances may be found in Europe, Mesopotamia, Peru (Cuzco), China, India, Mexico (Teotihuacan), west Africa etc. The Egyptian hieroglyph for 'city' is an enclosed cross. Innumerable examples of quadripartite royal palaces and temples are presented in literature. All these spatial structures cannot be seen independently from each other but rather as derivations of a single pattern of world view. "We start with a camp or city, round

or square, which is a miniature of the earth, and so must have four quarters like the earth" (Hocart 1970:261).

This pattern is generally associated with a ceremonial center, which is in turn symbolized by the vertical direction or axis. Raglan (1964:160) speaks of the city of Babylon and its ceremonial center:

"Two axis-streets, one running north-south and the other east-west, divide the city into four quadrants which reflect the four quadrants of the world. At the very point of intersection, in the very axis of the world wheel, the palace is situated. Here sits the king, 'the axis and pole of the world'. There were similar cosmic cities at Baghdad, Ecbatana, Hiraqla, Antigonía and Firuzabad, and Trelborg and Aggersborg in Denmark."

The vertical emphasis on the center where the two perpendicular axes meet can be seen in such structures as the Angkor Wat, the central marae of the Polynesian outliers, the Mexican pyramid and the Chinese royal palace built on a high platform. The house of the chief at the intersection of two axial streets in south Nias settlements in Indonesia also emphasizes the verticality with its high roof and high floor elevation.

However, literature is scarce on the fact that probably the four quarters are not equivalent, which is evident in the fact that the two axes may carry different symbolism. In the settlement on Nias, for example, the elevated chief's house may not be at the center, but at the end of one street which is conceptualized as a tree, with its roots at the gate and its top being the chief's house. The social status of residents increases toward the "top". Likewise in the Chinese city,

"the main axis running from south to north, 'the celestial meridian writ small', was of much greater significance than any avenue running from east to west. Along this axis were ranged the most important government buildings. Without exception, in the imperial capitals these faced south." (Wheatley 1971:452)

Comparing various city plans in China, it is apparent that the



palace or main building indeed is often located at the end of one axial street rather than at the intersection. It is thus evident that one of the axes assumes the meaning of verticality (like the Nias tree-street), and the symbolic center shifts from the physical one to the "top", which is simultaneously the interior-most area, being located at the opposite end from the gate. All these patterns can be correlated with those in the vernacular dwelling, including the fact that one of the perpendicular axes may assume the character of verticality. The section 2.3.3 below will show that Raglan (1964:159) was probably correct when he attributed this pattern to the demise of the concentric pattern.

On the other hand, the house with its sexual dichotomy and other sharply defined oppositions appears to be unique possessing the relationships of its final analysis in a diagonal arrangement.

#### 1.4 PREVIOUS STUDIES

As mentioned above, one of the leading theories concerning the evolution of the Japanese dwelling is one that stresses both the internal development and its synthesis with external influences. Various elements of Japanese vernacular architecture have led researchers to seek their sources in southeast Asia, within which the most often cited areas are Malaya on the one hand (e.g. Morse 1972), and more recently, mainland southeast Asia and Yunnan (e.g. Wakabayashi 1983). A conference has been devoted to this problem and the contributions to it were published in a book form (Sugimoto, ed. 1984). In contrast, the problem of the evolution of the Japanese dwelling space use which goes beyond the development of partitions and includes the problem of seating arrangement has been pursued yet, although there are some relevant remarks made in passing which are scattered in literature (e.g. Ishizuka's 1954 comparison of customs connected with NANDO with similar ones in southeast Asia).

Regarding the second problem of this study, i.e. the argument

that the value of domestic space increases with the distance from the entrance and thus indicate the hierarchy of household members, it has been cautiously suggested by Raenk (1949, 1951) for northern and eastern Europe, Siberia and central Asia, and has been elaborated with more confidence by Paulson (1952), who gave it a new dimension by extending the argument to North America. Obayashi (1971) has applied Raenk's category to the dwelling space of Jomon Japan as one of the several indicators of social structure. This study is the first to apply this hypothesis to southeast Asia.

Quadripartite pattern formed by the bisection of dualities has been recognized in analyses of mythology and ritual, and recently has been utilized as a model for a holistic analysis of a culture (Mosko 1985, a history of the research on quadripartite structures is included). As applied to space arrangement in dwellings, it has been recognized by numerous researchers describing a particular dwelling; so far it has not been elaborated or used in a comparative manner. This study constitutes the first such effort. Raglan (1964) has recognized the quadripartite pattern in vernacular dwellings, but he has not focused on the perpendicular bisection of dualities; to him, rather, the quadripartite pattern is a function of the cardinal points applied to the microcosm of the dwelling. Several authors (e.g. Ohnuki-Tierney 1980:29, Baiburin 1983) recognize the importance of diagonality, but do not perceive it as a manifestation of the quadripartite pattern.

### 1.5. ORGANIZATION

Section 2 seeks to discern all the patterns of domestic space arrangement among east Asian ethnic groups in order to be able to find parallels with Japan; to test the applicability of an extended Paulson's theory to regions other than northern Eurasia; and to point out the prevalence of the quadripartite pattern, which typifies the Japanese dwelling in eastern Asia, and to indicate the range of variations in it. Based on the above outlines, extension

of Paulson's suggestion is divided into two subsections (2.2, 2.3), according to the general tendency of spatial favoring of either sex.

Section 2.2.1 focuses on west Indonesian patterns of organization of dwelling space and their expression of matrifocality. It thus mainly concerns the above-outlined problem of the superiority of the interior (back) space, which is the female domain, hence extending Paulson's suggestion and giving it an important dimension. The women's domestic dominance is closely connected with the agricultural cult, and a comparative discussion with a similar situation in the Japanese dwelling will be endeavored in the final section. Section 2.2.1 is the only part of this study where quadripartite patterns are not discussed.

Section 2.2.2 attempts to demonstrate the women's domestic dominance in insular southeast Asia by discussing the relationship between the dwelling and the granary, the latter being closely connected with the housewife's control. The purpose of this section is to point out the similarity with the Japanese space NANDO, likewise a housewife-controlled zone with granary symbolism. A discussion of quadripartite pattern is introduced. Section 2.2.3 continues to investigate the relationship between the notions of centrality and interiority in the dwelling and the status of women, and proceeds to account for women's high domestic position in Indonesian patrilineal societies. Much attention is paid to the quadripartite pattern, evident in all the dwellings under discussion, especially its unique form among the Batak.

Section 2.2.4 focuses on the various ways of expressing the quadripartite pattern of space use in those areas of southeast Asia where the domestic space arrangement does not significantly differ from that discussed in the previous sections, regardless the social structure on the household level. Its primary purpose is to gather evidence of the distribution of the quadripartite pattern in southeast Asia and to detect its mechanism.

Section 2.3.1 indicates a radically different space arrangement in mainland southeast Asian dwellings, though within the quadripartite framework. Since neither the architectural forms

nor the climate greatly differ from insular and eastern mainland southeast Asia, it becomes evident that these factors may not be considered as determinants of the space use in dwellings.

Section 2.3.2 briefly outlines spatial concepts in Han dwellings, and attempts to find correlation with the relations between the sexes within the household.

Section 2.3.3 examines the interaction of axes in northeast Asian (east Siberian, south Siberian and Korean) dwellings, and indicates their function in sexual dichotomy. It discusses the relationship among a concentric pattern of seating arrangement, the two types distinguished by Raenk and the quadripartite one. This section is crucial for understanding the Japanese dwelling space arrangement, especially the seating order around the hearth, a subject which will be taken up in the final section.

Section 2 attempts to confine the individual themes to geographically defined areas. Because of the unevenness of data, this is achieved with varying levels of success, and in a number of cases (e.g. the Mentawai, Ami and Arakanese dwellings) the discussion is in line geographically but not exactly so thematically.

Section 3 is devoted to the dwellings of Japan; 3.2 those of Ainu, 3.3 those of Japanese proper and 3.3 those of the Japanese ethnographic groups that inhabit the Ryukyu Islands. Due attention is paid to the quadripartite pattern that underlies the arrangement of dwelling space throughout the area.

The final section will return to the three central problems and analyze them in such a way that will combine the sections 2 and 3. A preliminary reconstruction of the evolution of the Japanese dwelling space will be attempted, the feasibility of application of Paulson's suggestion re-examined and the quadripartite pattern analyzed.

## 1.6 ACQUISITION AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

The standard long-term (18-24 month) anthropological fieldwork has not been necessary for this study, since its focus is not one single community but the whole archipelago of Japan, as well as the whole region of eastern Asia, and as a comparative study with a partly historical orientation, which focuses on one narrowly defined subject (i.e. dwelling space), it does not emphasize the holistic approach that would require such fieldwork. The basis of this study, therefore, is library material supplemented by data obtained in field surveys.

However, the task of library research for a comparative study of dwelling space can only bring limited results, which is a fact not having fully been realized at the outset of preparations for this study. To put it simply, the study of dwelling space has so far been of only a marginal concern to anthropologists. Even in those rare cases where this subject is paid attention to by an ethnographer, the quality of presentation is inadequate to become a basis for a comparative study. As will be mentioned in section 2.1, old ethnographic literature is generally concerned with only the physical structure of the dwelling, while modern treatments of dwelling space often pursue a theoretical (most frequently structuralist) direction, in which the descriptive part is reduced to a minimum and is presented in such a way that it is consistent with the theoretical orientation of the treatise, hence its reliability as a source for other researchers is questionable.

The assessment of the situation by the leading American expert on vernacular architecture Amos Rapoport is precise:

"Given the primacy of sociocultural factors and the view of housing as a cultural phenomenon, it is rather surprising to find that, by and large, anthropology has neglected the study of the built environment and its most common manifestation, the dwelling and the settlement of which it is part. Due to the intimate relationship between built form and culture, the study of dwellings, how they are used, and

how they relate to larger settlement systems would be useful for anthropological theory. (...) In addition to the lack of significant studies there is also a surprising lack of data. In the recent past, even descriptions have been lacking from most ethnographies. Earlier ethnographies, some very recent work, and studies by non-English language scholars contain more information. However, not only is the information scattered, but descriptions tend to be verbal or at best include a few photographs. Missing are such essential elements as details of spatial organization; ways of building (technical and social); inventories of possessions and their location; the relation of dwellings to activities; their relation to values, ideals, cosmologies; how dwellings relate to social organization, privacy and social interaction; and how dwelling form and culture change affect one another" (Hunter and Whitten 1976:207-208).

This is despite the fact that the problem has been recognized as early as in 1931 by an authority no lesser than Malinowski:

"Although a great deal is known about the technology of house building and even about the structure of houses in various cultures and although a fair amount is also known about the constitution of the family, few accounts deal with the relation between the form of the dwelling and the form of domestic arrangements, on the one hand, and the constitution of the family, on the other, and yet such a relation does exist." (Encyclopedia of the social sciences 1931)

Because of such a situation in literature, this study can only be regarded as a preliminary one. Sections 2.1 and 3.1 will provide more detailed assessments of literature.

My field surveys were generally short (between the periods of less than a day to two weeks), and their purpose was to determine patterns of seating arrangement on various occasions, the general notions of space use in houses, and ideas and beliefs related to the dwelling. Meeting with local folklorists and ethnologists has also been productive.

Being that this study is comparative, data on the dwellings of

diverse ethnic groups are presented. Because of a large number of universals found in dwellings worldwide, the description of the dwelling space use of each ethnic group would become rather repetitive and therefore tedious for the reader, and conversely because of the necessity to present all the data rather than select some and delete others, most of the descriptive information is entered in house plans in this study. The plans provided here should be viewed schematically rather than literally, because they often represent a synthesized version of plans and verbal description by various authors. As such an arbitrary approach may risk oversimplification, effort is made to limit such syntheses to the cases where the various data correspond; if the individual differences are meaningful and if a single ethnic group possesses a number of distinct types of dwellings, or if the same dwelling is described in discrepant ways by different researchers (e.g. the chief's house in Bawomataluo village, Nias, in the reports by Feldman 1979 and Segawa 1976), either the report is limited to one single case or all the different types and discrepancies are pointed out.

## 2 EASTERN ASIA

### 2.1 LITERATURE

Classifications of house types in southeast Asia are generally based on such criteria as the floor level (raised floor on wooden piles, floor on the ground), the size (longhouses and other communal dwellings, single family dwellings), the shape (dwellings of circular or square plan) and the roof form. Typically, the architectural classifications involve criteria of the material culture alone; the function of the physical structure and non-material aspects are not taken into consideration. A case in point is the pile dwelling, traditionally considered as one of the

leading traits that determine southeast Asia as a culture-area. The two-story dwellings of Tibet and other areas are not included in the category of the pile/raised-floor dwellings but rather are included among the ground-level dwellings, on accounts of their brick or mud walls being raised from the ground. Function is entirely overlooked. The fact is that the wooden pile-dwelling and the two-story dwelling both consist of an upper residential level and a lower non-residential economic level (often a space to keep domestic animals), and thus are functionally identical, but the function is accomplished by different means due to the abundance or scarcity of building materials. Similarly, the earthen platform upon which the Javanese dwelling is built does not justify the dwelling to be included in the raised-floor category, by the very reason that the platform is made of trampled earth, although its function appears to be a substitute of the piles that have recently disappeared (cf. Borobudur reliefs) probably due to the scarcity of wood.

Another problem in typologies is the application of the term "longhouse", used by Morgan (1887) to describe the Iroquois dwelling, to southeast Asia. Communal dwellings, i.e. dwellings inhabited by more than one nuclear family, are present in many areas of southeast Asia, some inhabited by lineage segments (e.g. Minangkabau), others by a combination of same-lineage and affinal families (e.g. Batak), yet others by a haphazard agglomeration of families not necessarily related (e.g. Iban). The latter case has been used to argue against the uncontrolled usage of the term "longhouse" (Freeman 1970:1 for Iban and Geddes 1957:29 for Bidayuh Land Dayaks who speaks of independently owned apartment blocks comparable to apartment buildings in European cities); in contrast to this, houses arranged in rows similar to the Iban but lined along streets in other areas are customarily not classified as "longhouses" (e.g. southern Nias). Further, just as a "longhouse" is not necessarily a communal house (e.g. Iban), a communal house is not necessarily of an elongated shape (e.g. the Batak house is more square than round; outside southeast Asia, a communal dwelling, often indistinguishable from the whole



settlement, may be round, e.g. the Amazonian basin, piled up on top of each other, e.g. the American Southwest, etc.). The term "longhouse" has even been applied to the Eskimo igloo (Mauss and Beuchat 1904-1905) and the Japanese proletariat's NAGAYA (Bishop 1938, arguing for its diffusion from southeast Asia, the presumed homeland of longhouses). The term "longhouse" thus appears definable only if applied to the material form, i.e. "a house which is long", and its usage in relation to social structure, ecology, cultural diffusion, etc., requires separate definitions for each case. Alternatively, if applied to non-material culture, this term should be used according to Morgan's intentions, i.e. to describe a dwelling that accommodates a co-resident lineage segment. Only few communal dwellings in southeast Asia (e.g. Minangkabau, Jarai) would correspond to such a definition.

The recent decades have been marked by a steady transition from descriptive discussion of physical aspects of southeast Asian dwellings, leaving that subject to architecture specialists and geographers, to analyses of architectural symbolism done by anthropologists. The analytical method is most generally structuralism and geographically most attention has been paid to Indonesia. The reasons for such a trend may be, as Suzuki (1984:48) suggests, that Indonesianists, who are strongly influenced by the Dutch structuralist thought, use house forms "to establish the thesis that binary oppositions are features of ... houses and that these oppositions in turn also are inherent in other features of the culture in question" (and also because the autochthonous domestic architecture of Indonesia presents "unusual and often striking styles"); indeed we find the opposition pairs listed in the form of two parallel columns in practically every structuralist treatise of the Indonesian dwellings, and the discussion surrounding these columns inevitably includes the extension of the pairs to other aspects of the culture, with the evident intention of establishing an all-encompassing model. Another reason for this attention being paid to the structural interpretation of house symbolism in Indonesia is that the field has been pioneered by a highly successful study by Cunningham

(1964), and perhaps also by the less famous study by Rassers (1959:246-296), which have shown on the example of Indonesia that the study of the house is capable of producing significant results. However, it is not the Leiden school and Indonesian house forms alone; the concept of the house as microcosm has become the analytical background for the study of the house worldwide, and numerous studies on house symbolism seen in this light have appeared, dealing with the dwellings of the Berber, Dogon, Fali, Tukano etc. In general, structuralist essays do not require introductory description, and the study of dwellings have occasionally become a vehicle for the advancement of a person's theory, without much care to control the use of data. Suzuki (1984:48) criticizes such studies for being "'mentalistic' and (nothing) but exercises in mental gymnastics, which, although amusing, engaging, and often fascinating, fail to advance anthropology as a science". It is possible to discern such tendencies already in Cunningham (1964), e.g. despite his claim that all the details in the Atoni house meaningfully unite into a whole, he does not attempt to account for the location of the main column, with its ancestral symbolism, in the right front corner of the interior house, which is neither a fully masculine or feminine area, nor one marked by a particularly high status; however, it is mainly the subsequent studies of the Indonesian dwellings that do not appear entirely reliable to become a basis for factual analyses or comparative discussion. Such is, among others, Errington's 1979 study titled "The cosmic house of the Buginese", in which she neither provides any detailed description of the dwelling, nor explains adequately why the house should be seen as cosmic.

Suzuki's attack on similar studies concerning the Niasan dwelling and the Sundanese settlement is, however, of great dimension, and it is difficult to see whether the target of his charge is all the analytic work on Indonesian house symbolism or merely certain structuralist studies he considers inefficacious and unreliable. He contrasts a recent study of a Niasan house to an early one by a Dutch ethnographer, and remarks that the recent

study includes nothing that cannot be found in the early description. Apart from the problem of Nias, the general tendency in older ethnographies is to focus on the physical features of the dwelling, in which various carvings, ornaments etc. are seen as primitive art, and the household cult is discussed in its relationship with the whole religious system of the particular ethnic group; on the other hand, the more recent treatises (not necessarily written from the structuralist point of view) have a sharply defined focus according to which they organize the data to form a meaningful whole. For the purpose of this section of the present study, preference has been given to the latter, because only in them it is possible to discern the emphasis on human relations and their spatialization within the dwelling. In accordance with Suzuki's criticism, care has been taken to determine what constitutes hard data and where personal interpretation begins. In case of the latter, reliance has been tested by a comparison with data from a dwelling of a related group, also reference to an older source is at times employed. In the area of southeast Asia, the book by Nguyen (1934) fulfills this purpose more than adequately, as it provides a synthesis of much of the older literature on the dwelling and dwelling space. On a number of occasions it has been necessary to verify the original sources; however, these are not listed in the references unless additional data supplementing those in Nguyen have been drawn from them. It is necessary to admit here, however, that since the volume of data is far from being satisfactory, in some cases certain sources are followed too closely in this section, and selection of data from a larger number of sources would be preferred.

Related to this shortcoming is the geographical unevenness in the availability of data. It has been mentioned above that in the post-war period particular attention has been paid to the non-material aspects of houses in Indonesia. This cannot be said about other areas of southeast Asia. No report, to my knowledge, exists on the space use in the Philippine dwellings, only one on the aboriginal Taiwanese dwelling (Ami), few on the dwellings of the

mainland southeast Asian lowland peoples (Muong, Thai, a subgroup of the Burmese) and no more than one each for several highland peoples of the mainland (Purum, Kachin, Lawa, Miao, Yao, Jarai, Bru). This uneven situation in literature is unfortunately reflected in this study, and the discussion of certain areas, in particular mainland southeast Asia, cannot be considered complete.

The quality of data on space use in the northeast Asian dwellings is satisfactory, mainly thanks to the excellent and exhaustive studies by Gustav Raenk, who has worked out a typology of dwelling space use in Siberia, thus pioneering an entirely new field not only for that area, but for the whole world, as no such classification has ever been considered for any area in the world. Raenk's work is utilized in this section as a solid background for the discussion of eastern and southern Siberia and, in part, the Korean Peninsula.

## 2.2 DWELLINGS OF MAINLY INSULAR SOUTHEAST ASIA THAT TEND TO SPATIALLY FAVOR THE FEMALE ELEMENT

### 2.2.1 WEST INDONESIAN DWELLINGS SPATIALLY EXPRESSING MATRIFOCALITY OF HOUSEHOLD

#### JAVA

The situation in Java is employed as a starting point for the discussion of western Indonesia, as well as of insular southeast Asia, because many ideas of household common to the whole region are embodied in the Javanese and Sundanese dwelling.

The Javanese word for house is OMAH, a derivation of the common Hesperonesian RUMA 'house', while the term for household, i.e. the social unit that inhabits it, is SOMAH (Koentjaraningrat 1967:260; SE 'one' OMAH 'house') or SOMAHAN (Jay 1969:55; -AN=a noun suffix). Approximately three-quarters of houses studied by Jay (1969:52) were inhabited by nuclear families and the rest by

"augmented nuclear families" (15%) or multiple nuclear families (6%). Such occurrence of multiple nuclear families is not rare in Java and, according to Koentjaraningrat (1967:260), they may live either in what he labels a "longhouse" or in one compound. In both cases, however, each nuclear family owns its own kitchen, which is a symbol of the nuclear family's autonomy. The term SOMAH(AN) thus includes the notions of household, i.e. a residential unit, and "hearthhold", i.e. a nuclear family operating a kitchen (Jay 1969:55).

Corresponding to this variation in household size as well as in social and economic status, the physical dwelling reveals many different types that manifest themselves in the size of floor space and architecture. Despite the variations, there are certain basic principles in the organization of domestic space which are conspicuous in all types, from the simplest farmer's house to the royal KRATON in Jokjakarta and Surakarta. This unifying principle is that the core of the house is its back section, which is associated with the notion of centrality as indicated by the layout of the KRATON.

Glossary (Horne 1974): SENTONG "a small inner room... used for making offerings to the spirits, for wedding ceremonies and for other special purposes"; KIWA "left", TENGAH "middle", TENGEN "right"; SARONG "a partitioned-off space used e.g. as a chicken coop or for storage"; BOMA "sky, heaven"; KOBONGAN "central room of the main house"; AMBEN "sleeping bench"; PAJANGAN "decorated room"; PASAREAN "bed, bedroom"; JERAMBAH "1. low wooden platform used as a seat, 2.floor"; OMAH "house", BURI "back", NGAREP "front"; PARINGGITAN "place for shadow play performances" (RINGGIT=WAYANG); KAMPUNG "yard around one's house"; JAGA SATRU "front porch with no supporting columns, lit. guard against the enemy"; PENDAPA (PENDOPO) "large open pavilion-like veranda at the front of a house where guests are entertained and shadow play performances are held for celebrating family events"; SALU "veranda"; TARUB "a temporary/tent-like/structure erected onto the front of a house for wedding festivities; decorated front room".

The structure of the Javanese dwelling is discussed by Rassers

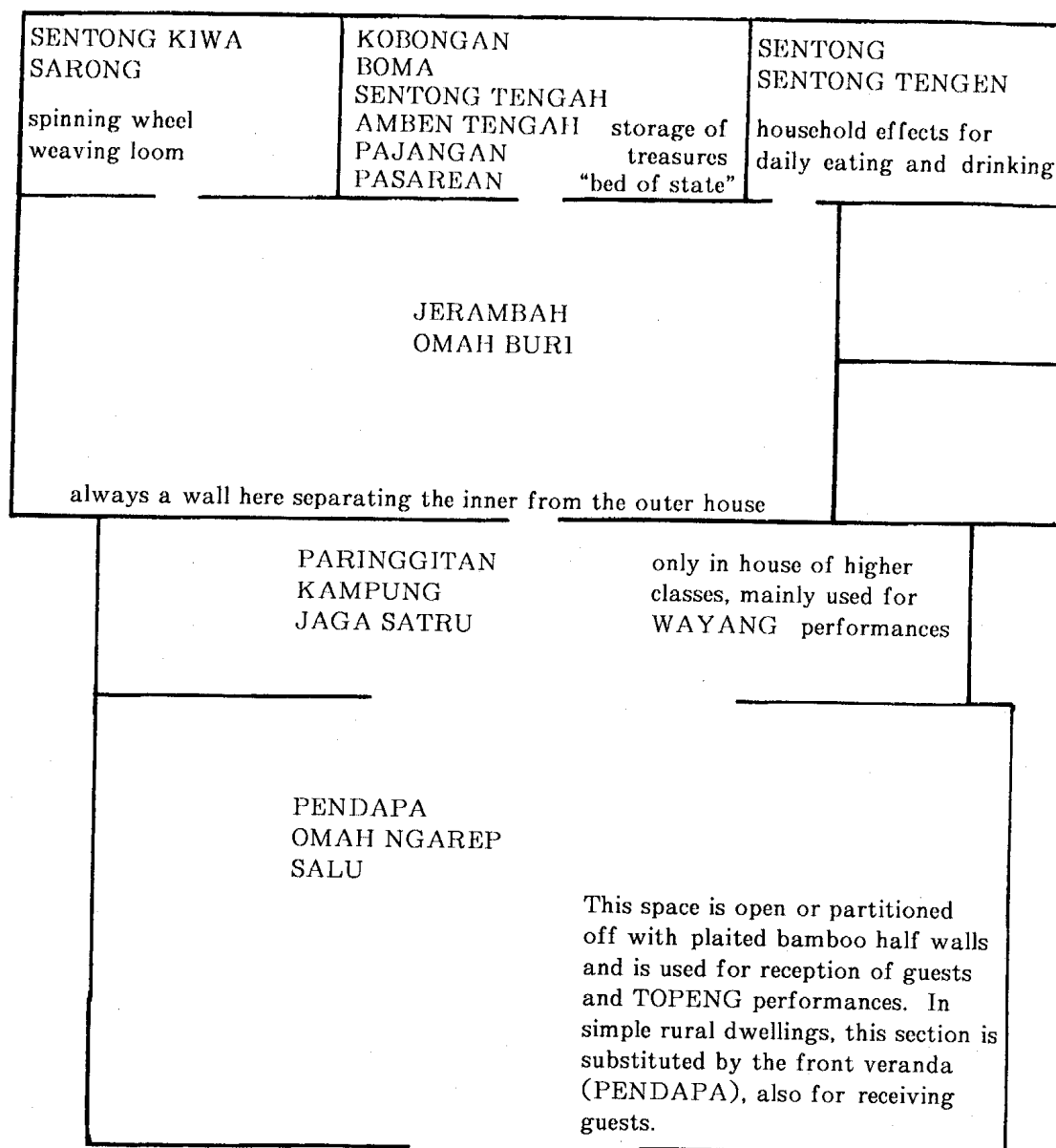


Fig. 10 : Javanese. After Rassers 1959 : pl. VI, VII (orig. after Poensen)

(1959) who based his analysis on earlier written sources (Poensen, Hazeu, Sastro Amidjojo, Noto Diningrat, Soerjo Winoto), and the house he deals with is one of a high-status family (Fig. 10). It is different from ordinary rural dwellings by the fact that it consists of two separate buildings, i.e. the PENDAPA/SALU/OMAH NGAREP in the front and the JERAMBAH/OMAH BURI (in eastern Java also DALEM 'interior') in the back. In simple houses the term PENDAPA refers to the covered veranda in front of the building. Houses of very wealthy families are characterized by one more

component, i.e. the PARINGGITAN/KAMPUNG/JAGA SATRU, between the two; however, it is structurally an integral part of the building. According to Rassers (1959:208), these front two sections are reserved for public life and are men's domain. Male guests are received and accommodated in the PENDAPA, and the TOPENG, enacted exclusively by men, is performed there. The WAYANG is performed in the PARINGGITAN (if there is no PARINGGITAN, then in the PENDAPA) for the benefit of the men, while the women watch from the JERAMBAH through an open door.

In contrast to the PENDAPA (and PARINGGITAN) which are completely open, with either half walls or no walls at all, the JERAMBAH/OMAH BURI back house is a structure fully enclosed by four walls, and is always built on an earthen platform, which is not a typical feature of the front house. The most important part of this section of the house are the three rooms at the back, especially the middle one (KOBONGAN/BOMA/SENTONG TENGAH/AMBEN TENGAH/PAJANGAN/ PASAREAN AGEMA). Hazeu's study of this room has been summarized by Rassers (1959:209) as follows:

"The space is almost entirely taken up by a kind of bed of state with a large number of cushions piled on top of each other. Various old-fashioned objects used in the cult are also kept here: a water jar, a pot with the fixed ingredients for a sacrifice to the ancestors, etc. In front of the KOBONGAN there are one or more antique lamps, and sometimes also two painted wooden images representing a man and a woman in old Javanese costume. Every Thursday evening incense is burned here; and according to the ancient adat the bride and bridegroom on the evening of their wedding day sit for some time in beautifully decorated seats in front of the KOBONGAN...surrounded by the female guests and members of the family."

Similarly, great importance is attributed to this room by an author of an article edited by Djauhari Sumintardja (1974:35).

"The DALEM or inner hall which has a higher floor level than the PENDOP0, can be regarded as the intimate part of the house or family quarter. It is divided in length into two

parts, a front and a rear gallery. The front gallery faces or unites with the PENDOPO. It consists of five rooms, two outer rooms, two side-rooms and one central room. The central room - SENTONG TENGAH - is sacrosanct; highly esteemed since it is regarded as the dwelling space of the spirits of the ancestors. It has a bed of state, lighted day and night and arranged as if it were used every day by replacing daily offerings, etc. It is also used as a room for meditation by the family."

Despite the presence of a bed in this room, it is not used as a bedroom but rather as a household shrine, a sanctuary of Dewi Sri, the goddess of rice and agriculture who protects the household's rice field and who also is, according to Rassers (p. 248), "the ancestress of the Javanese people". PUSAKA treasures, including the KRIS sword, are kept there along with several bundles of rice, fabrics, embroideries, a cupboard with medicine, a mirror, comb, fragrant oil etc. This room has basically the same function in every Javanese house, from the simple hut to the KRATON, and everywhere it is the domain of the housewife: "The care and the keeping of this sanctuary is entrusted to a woman who has reached a certain age (from 45 to 50)" (Rassers 1959:252; a quotation of Sastro Amidjojo). The rooms on each side of the KOBONGAN (left and right SARONG/SENTONG) are also principally (or, according to Poensen, exclusively - Rassers p. 209) feminine territories; the left one used for spinning and weaving and the right one utilized as storage of objects for daily meals. Also, rice is kept in this room inside a large wooden box which, with a mattress on top, becomes an honorable bed (Djauhari 1974:35). This feature is very significant and will be dealt with in the last section of this study.

Both feminine and agricultural symbolism characterize the interior (back) section-of the Javanese dwelling (Fig. 11). Certain architectural features emphasize the agricultural character. The pyramidal or near-pyramidal type of roof (JOGLO) that typifies the high-class Javanese dwelling, with a corresponding framework of columns, is comparable to the granary architecture of various areas of insular southeast and east Asia, e.g. eastern Indonesia,



northern Luzon, Taiwan (Paiwan), Ryukyu. There are indications that among several ethnic groups (e.g. Ema, Solorese, Ifugao) the granary has become a residential house, either entirely replacing the existing dwelling with a ridge, or assuming character of superiority. It may thus be possible that the granary architecture has become a status symbol of the upper-class Javanese dwelling.

The feminine and agricultural character of the Javanese house, especially its interior (back) side, is further reinforced by the cult of Dewi Sri. Rassers (1959:264-267) recounts a Javanese origin myth, in which the primeval ancestors are a goddess, who later returns to heaven, and a male hero of human origin. The goddess is identified by Rassers (p. 270) as Dewi Sri. In the myth she is closely associated with rice, e.g. she has "the power to procure an inexhaustible store of rice", she finds her garment that enables her to return to heaven in the granary, and she ascends to heaven on the smoke of burning rice. There is a direct connection between this story and the inventory of the KOBONGAN: not only rice but also various kinds of cloths, e.g. "woven cloths, plaitings and embroideries" (Rassers 1959:272, cf. Jay 1969:43,50) are kept there, in accordance with the significance of the primeval ancestress' garments that enabled her to become a goddess again and to return to heaven. Also, it is significant that one of the terms for this room is BOMA 'heaven'. In contrast, the man in the origin story, Kyai ageng ing-Tarub, whom Rassers (pp. 248,268) identifies as Panji, the culture hero and inventor of the GAMELAN and WAYANG, is associated with hunting, as he was on a hunting expedition when he encountered the goddess, and with weapons, in the story symbolized by the KRIS in two ways: 1. the KRIS, later entrusted under the care of the goddess, was his sexual organ in the union with her, and 2. he was the creator and master of the TARUB (smithy), the place where the KRIS originated. This symbolism also finds its reflection in the house. As to the first point, it has been mentioned above that the treasured weapons (PUSAKA), among which the KRIS is the most precious, are kept in the housewife's sacred room (KOBONGAN). This is in parallel

with the presence of the "bed of state", which gains its symbolic significance only at and shortly after the wedding, and of the wooden figures of a man and woman in front of its entrance. As to the second point, the front house (PENDAPA) is also referred to as TARUB and often a smithy is actually located in it. Just as the goddess in the story is presented as superior to the human male (whom Rassers - p. 271 - characterized as a "rather stupid trickster", a "negative factor"), so is the back house (JERAMBAH) architecturally grander, higher (on a platform), more solid and permanent than the front house (PENDAPA). The JERAMBAH, enclosed by walls, feminine, "is held to be the 'great', 'distinguished' house; the PENDAPA is in normal circumstances entirely without walls / and is/ no more than an open gallery", strictly masculine (p. 255). However, there are certain ritual exceptions, e.g. once a year men enter the KOBONGAN to clean the KRIS. Nevertheless, as Wessing (1974) mentioned concerning the Sundanese house (discussed below), the whole house should be considered to be more the woman's domain than the man's, because she has freer movement in the men's area where the main entrance to the entrance is located; on the other hand, the man's access to the sanctuary of Dewi Sri is very limited.

The royal KRATON has basically the same symbolic layout as the above-discussed dwelling, but the PETANEN, i.e. the sacral bedroom corresponding to the KOBONGAN, is situated in the innermost central section. Again, it is where the PUSAKA treasures, certain utensils, agricultural tools and standards, the latter being considered as the most precious cloths, are kept. This core area is administered by a female regent, and is surrounded by increasingly more public areas corresponding to the PENDAPA, in all directions (Rassers 1959:293,294).

Jay's (1969:43-58) discussion of the Javanese house represents a simplified version of Rassers' description (Fig. 11). The focal point of the house is, like in Rassers' discussion, the rear-central room where rice is stored and "daily rituals" for Dewi Sri are held (p.43). Jay draws picture of this room in the following manner:

"/It/ is used to store valuables of furniture and clothing,

especially family heirlooms, and is often equipped with an ornamental wooden door and strengthened against burglars with cement flooring and brick walling. A small alcove or closet in the rear of this chamber is used to keep the family's store of hulled rice.... This store is exclusively the province of the wife of the household. It is conceived to have a spiritual essence, and its reverential handling is thought important for the spiritual well-being of the household" (p. 50).

The preeminence of the back section of the house is further underlined by the fact that it becomes the residence of the older couple in a household shared with their married offspring. Fortified by thick walls, it is the permanent element of the house. The front section, in contrast, can any time "be dismantled and sold under pressure of financial need" (p. 49).

This point fully agrees with the nature of the Javanese household or domestic unit, which has been labeled as "matrifocal" or "matricentric" (Geertz 1961:46,78,79, Tanner:1974:134-137, Miyake 1984:154-157), i.e. the core of the household is the mother and the children, especially the female ones. "Wives play the dominant

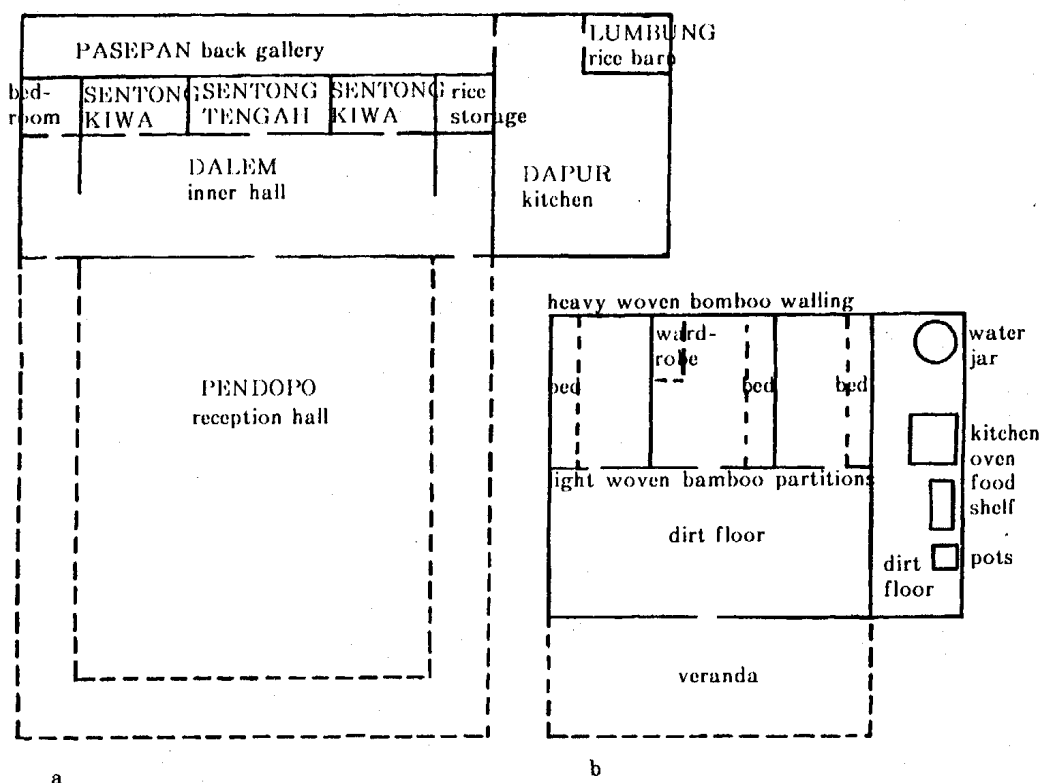


Fig. 11 : Javanese. (a) After Djauhari 1974:35, (b) After Jay 1969:47

part in the economic operation" and "expect their husbands to leave completely to them most of the domestic decisions, especially on expenditures" (Jay 1969:87), but other everyday domestic affairs are generally dominated by housewives as well. The husband is usually rather passive in household affairs and at least outwardly emotionally uninvolved in the family. Families dominated by the husband/father are "exceedingly rare" (Geertz 1961:45-46). Household relations can be observed at meals when the housewife with the children eat together in or near the kitchen, while the household head and adult sons eat often scattered at various locations at the front of the dwelling. Like the inner house the women are the nucleus of the household, as Geertz (1961:45-46) point out in several illustrations:

"...if one is forced to take relatives into one's home, it is much better to take those who are kinsmen - or, even better, kinswomen- of the wife, rather than of the husband. There is also the marked preference women have for adopting, or caring for, children of their own relatives, rather than those of their husband's relatives. Further, there is the strong feeling that after the divorce, the children should remain with the mother, even though she may remarry several times, with the result grown children have considerably stronger ties to their mothers than to their fathers. And, there is tendency for daughters, after their marriage, to maintain a closer relationship with their parents and to return to live with them if divorced, while sons tend to drift away emotionally, and rarely return home as adults".

Since divorce is very common in Java (fifty percent of marriages end in divorce - Tanner 1974:136), the situation described by Geertz may not be considered extreme or exceptional. Such "matrifocal pattern of familial relationships", as Geertz calls it, is a product of diverse factors, such as "the dominant status of the woman in the family, the attitudes of restraint and avoidance between the men of the family, the contrasting closeness of the women of the family, the mistrust of affinal relatives generally, and the strong economic position of women" (Geertz 1961:46), and

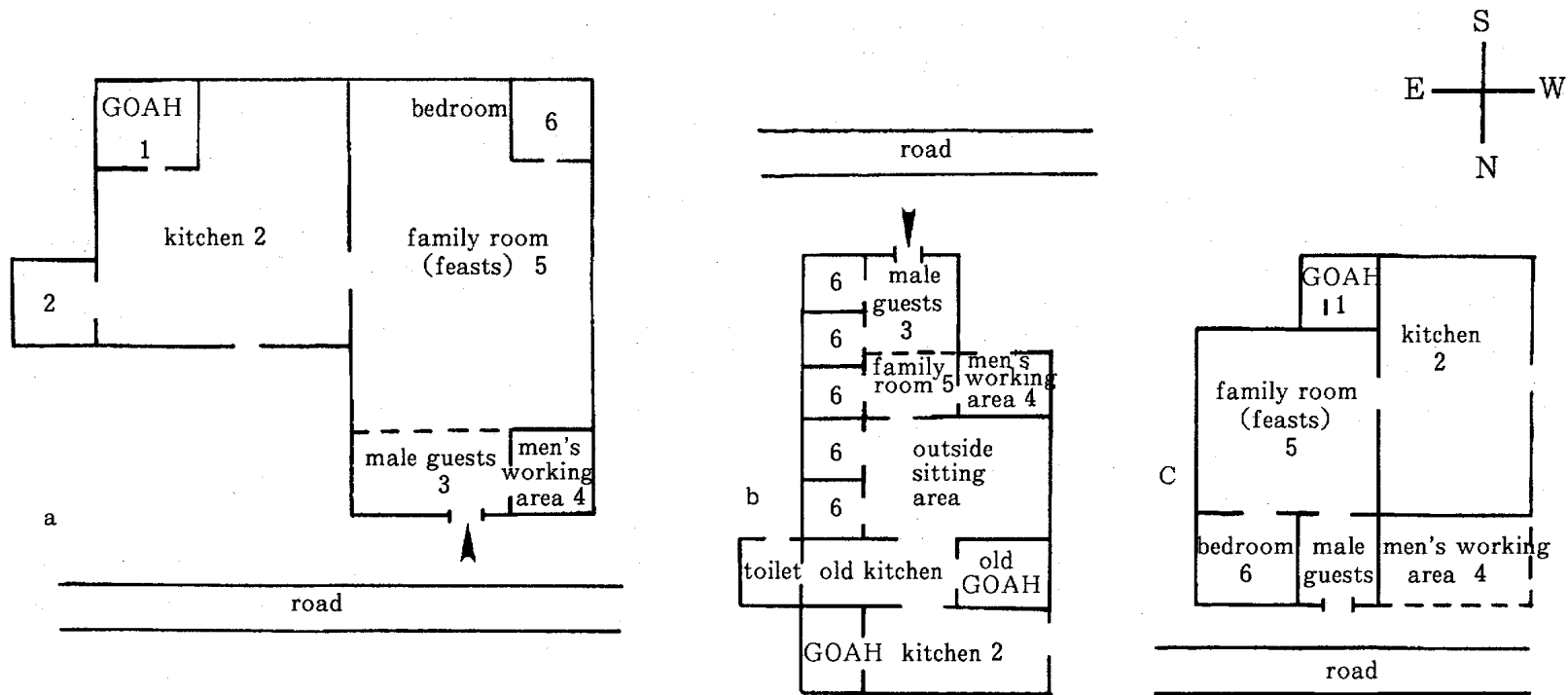
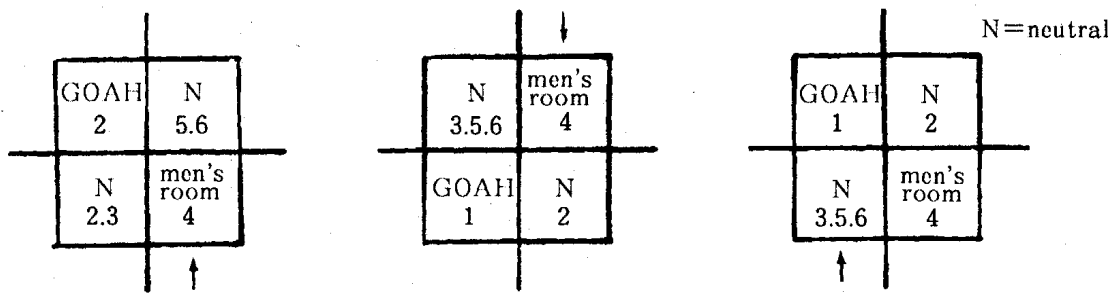


Fig. 12 : Sundanese. After Wessing 1974:105

manifests itself in the core of closely related women of the inner house (JERAMBAH), symbolized by the sacred room (KOBONGAN), and the periphery of men of loose solidarity of the outer house (PENDAPA).

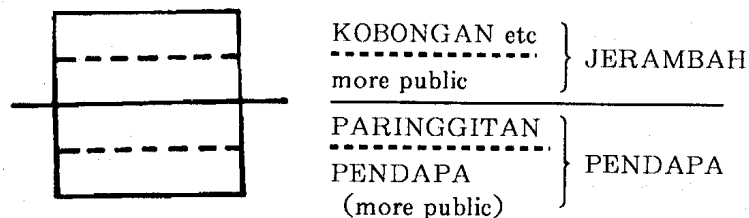
Based on Wessing's (1974:104-120) description, the dwelling of the Sundanese of western Java, whose social organization and most aspects of culture are closely related to those of the Javanese, corresponds in many ways to the above-discussed Javanese dwelling, but differs in several details (Fig. 12). The main resemblance is that the GOAH, i.e. the room exclusively for the use of the housewife and analogous to the Javanese KOBONGAN, is on the opposite side of the outer section that is the domain of the household head. The GOAH is a room containing a jar of unhusked rice, several strands of plaited rice, offerings to Dewi Sri, ancestral possessions (PUSAKA), manuscripts, musical instruments, etc. (Wessing 1974:104, Sukanda-Tessier 1977:100); it is strictly female and men and strangers are forbidden to enter it. Offerings to Dewi Sri are made by the housewife twice a week. Sukanda-Tessier (1977:100) considers this room to be "the first place of the house". Diagonally opposite the GOAH (1) is the men's (especially the household head's) working area, (4), which is seldom entered by the women of the household, although there is no strict prohibition as there is for men to enter the GOAH. This room may be used as a workshop, an office or a study room, and often, e.g. in Fig. 12 c, there is no wall around it as is the case with the Javanese PENDAPA. This division extends beyond the physical structure of the house to the house yard. Thus, in the back yard of the house is the well, the fishpond and the spice garden, all of which are managed by the housewife, while the front yard is used for public affairs.

A major difference from the Javanese house is the existence of a large portion which is at least superficially neutral. Thus, the men are forbidden to enter the GOAH but allowed the access to the kitchen (2). Similarly, the women usually do not enter (4) but often sit in (3) which is the area for receiving guests. The family room (5) is freely accessible to all members of the household and HAJAT

Fig. 13: Sundanese

feasts (analogous to the Javanese SLAMETAN) are held there. Also there is no strict prohibition regarding the choice of the bedrooms (6), although the household head usually occupies one near the entrance (e.g. in Fig. 12 b the household head's bedroom is the one farthest south), while his wife uses the one closest to the GOAH. The difference between the Sundanese and Javanese dwellings is evident in the position of axes. The Sundanese house is cross-cut by two perpendicular axes that form a quadripartite pattern, characterized by a sexual opposition in two areas arranged diagonally, and two neutral areas. This pattern is apparent in all three house plans of Fig. 13.

The Javanese dwelling, on the other hand, is organized along parallel lines which do not create any clear-cut neutral areas:

Fig. 14: Javanese

As mentioned above, the Sundanese dwelling spatially favors the feminine element. This is enforced by facts regarding the Sundanese social structure on a household level. According to Wessing (1974:107), the youngest daughter inherits the house and in case there is no female child in the family, then it becomes the property of the daughter-in-law. If the house is new, the man who builds it gives it to his wife. The postmarital residence of the Sundanese is, according to Wessing's figures, 75% matrilocal. These facts partially explain the use of dwelling space of the Sundanese, in which the housewife and her children occupy the

core areas of the building, while the outermost area is allocated to her husband.

## BORNEO

Organization of space fundamentally analogous to that in Java exists in dwellings of a majority of Bornean ethnic groups, but it cannot be matched as readily with the allocation of domestic authority because of inadequate data concerning household relationships in literature. Although the architectural form is the so-called "longhouse", the most basic and important unit of social organization throughout Borneo is the household which is materialized in an "apartment" (Iban - Freeman 1955:9, Sadong/Bidayuh - Geddes 1954:33-48, Selako - Schneider 1978:82, Kenyah - Whittier 1978:104, Kayan - Rousseau 1978:87, Rungus Dusun - Appell 1978:145). A single term simultaneously applies to both the architectural and social units: Iban - BILEK, Selako - BIIK, Kayan - AMIN, Kenyah - LAMIN. It is necessary to make two points regarding the meaning of these terms. First, if they are compared to the words in related languages of the peoples whose dwellings accommodate single households (e.g. Iban BILEK, compared with Malay BILIK 'partitioned space'), it becomes apparent that the basic meaning is 'room' rather than 'house'. This correlates with the term RUMA cognatic to languages of Borneo (e.g. Iban) and other west Indonesian languages (e.g. Malay), but in the former it signifies 'longhouse' while in the latter 'house', thus supporting the view that the longhouse is architecturally a corporate unit and weakening the suggestion of some of the above-mentioned writers that it is nothing but a row of houses comparable a street in London. Second, in such longhouses ("a series of houses separately built but joined together" - Geddes 1957:29), where the unpartitioned gallery consists of privately owned sections (e.g. Iban, Bidayuh, Selako, Lun Dayeh, Rungus Dusun), the term BILEK, BIIK, ONGKOB etc. refers to only the enclosed private compartment



and not the corresponding privately owned sections of the veranda or corridor. Thus, it appears that originally the "longhouse" may have been closer to a corporate social unit than it is now, although it is questionable whether it was an architectural response to unilineal (matrilineal) descent organization as Loeb and Broek (1947) assume. In other words, if the "longhouse" as a row of independent houses simply attached to each other represented the original situation, one would rather expect the term 'house' to be employed instead of 'room' (e.g. RUMA instead of BILEK) and its meaning to include the corresponding section of the veranda (gallery, corridor) in front of it. This suggestion is supported by the situation in the "longhouses" of the Kayan, Kenyah and Ngaju, whose gallery is communally owned by the "longhouse" group and individual households may not lay any claims on any part of it. These ethnic groups, besides the traits of communality in their residential pattern, are also characterized by a greater social and economical cohesiveness and permanence of both households within the "longhouse" and members within the household. As a result, their households are numerically larger, consisting of several conjugal couples, while among the more "individualistically" oriented Bornean groups the nuclear family households predominate. A related feature is the former ethnic groups' bias toward the maternal side (e.g. the Kayan are basically uxori-local), and this bias may have been a crucial factor in the establishment of the institution of "longhouse", as strong kinship organization is one of prerequisites for communal residence, besides such factors as pioneering cultivation practices, defense, etc. Again, strength in kinship bonds does not automatically imply the existence of unilineal groups; it may imply the application of bias or focality forces to the bilateral kinship. There is no indication of lineages having existed at any time in Borneo, and it is probable that rather households with feminine emphasis were originally the basic social units. An evidence of this is the spatial symbolism of the Bornean household.

Schaerer (1963:67-73) discusses the dwelling (not a "longhouse")

of the Ngaju in reference to a Ngaju drawing (Fig. 15). It shows an upper "real house" represented by a hen above it and pigs beneath it, and a lower veranda with a cock above and a water buffalo beneath it. The room in the real house is filled with a table, a chair, and an apparatus for chewing betel, while the veranda which has a considerably smaller space than the main house comprises an incomplete betel apparatus and gongs. According to Schaerer (p. 69), the large room is the living room while the veranda serves such purposes as receiving guests, holding feasts, deliberating law cases and accommodating unmarried men. He interprets the dwelling in the following way:

"The dual division shows the dualistic aspect of the house, with the emphasis on the more important aspect.... the house belongs to the woman, and thereby to that part of the divine world with which she is associated....At the creation, the house was assigned to the woman. She demands that her future husband builds her a house, and the deities /Mahatala and Jata/ build it and present it to her. The man moves into the house of his wife. Marriage in Borneo is matrilocal. The husband is really a stranger in the house of his wife, and when he marries he is formally admitted, on the threshold, into the house and the new community by an old and respected woman. Since the house belongs to the wife, he is allotted a private place which serves to indicate his position and his functions. This is the lower-lying verandah, where his most important possessions (gongs, weapons, and fishing nets) will also be kept" (pp.70-71). "The house thus seen in this theological interpretation is the reflection of the ordinary house. The initiative in the construction of this is taken by the superior and wife-giving group, and the members of the inferior wife-taking group share and serve in its erection. The building of a house is an affair of both groups, and every house exhibits this dual division..." (p. 73).

Several points should be made concerning Schaerer's characterization of the Ngaju dwelling: 1. Gongs are not typically associated with the veranda in Borneo. All treasures are stored in the living

room among all the ethnic groups of Borneo. The Ngaju case may represent an influence of Java where gongs are not considered as PUSAKA and therefore not installed in the housewife's KOBONGAN room; rather, being part of GAMELAN, they are more typically associated with the outer PENDAPA. 2. It is an exaggeration to state that "marriage in Borneo is matrilocal". One can speak of a tendency, among some groups rather strong one (e.g. Ngaju, Kayan, Rungus Dusun), but it is not a rule. 3. The veranda is not typically lower-lying in Borneo, not even among the Ngaju (Miles 1964:47). Schaerer's instance may also have represented an influence from Java. Its main feature is its openness. 4. Schaerer's work was written at the time when

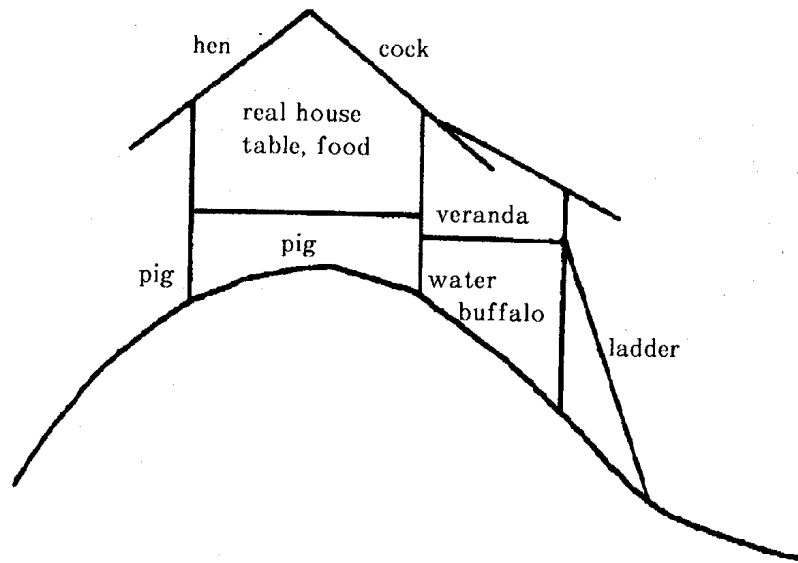


Fig. 15: Ngaju. Simplified after Schaerer 1963:67

numerous theories concerning east Indonesian and Batak social structures were current, thus the terms "wife-giving group" and "wife-taking group" were confused into the discussion of the Ngaju who lack such formal social groups. Nevertheless, Schaerer's treatment of the Ngaju household is basically correct in that it emphasizes the central role of the housewife, and characterizes her husband as an outer element in the household makeup.

The Ngaju "longhouse" is a kinship entity based on consanguineal ties, the majority of which are female (Miles 1964:56). Unlike the "longhouse" of the Iban, Selako, Rungus Dusun etc., it does not accommodate unrelated immigrants, and only the "longhouse" members maintain double residence, i.e. one in the "longhouse" and one in a swidden house.

Schaerer's characterization of the Ngaju dwelling as a female core and male periphery (children, except for adolescent boys,

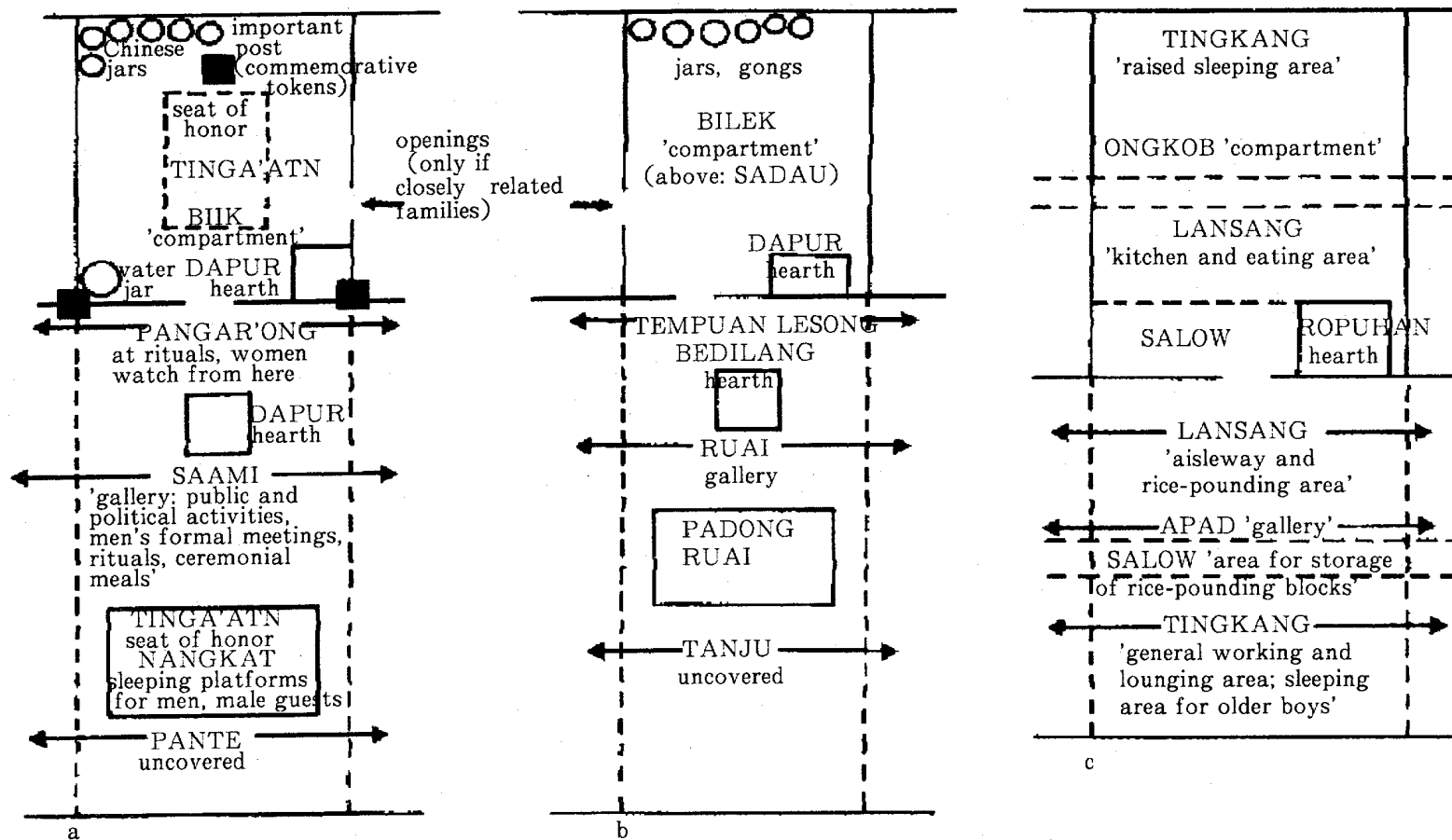


Fig. 16 : (a) Selako. After Schneider 1975. (b) Iban. After Freeman 1955:3.

(c) Rungus Dusun. After Appell 1978:156

belong to the female category) is supported by data from other Bornean ethnic groups. Several writers have noted the tendency of housewives to associate themselves with the enclosed compartments, and the men with the open public hallway (Appell 1978:155-156, Freeman 1955:5, Geddes 1954:34, Izumi 1971:44-45, Jensen 1974:111, Roth 1896:3, Schneider 1975, 1978:63, Sekine 1979).

Fig. 16 indicates the floor plan of household sections in "longhouses" of the Selako (a), Iban (b) and Rungus Dusun (c); however, other Bornean ethnic groups' arrangements of dwelling space do not differ significantly, except in "longhouses" of some "Murut" groups, in which the corridor runs along the central axis between the apartments (like among the Mentawai islanders). Typical differences among individual types are the presence or absence of an uncovered platform in addition to the covered gallery (e.g. Iban TANJU), of an additional hearth in the public gallery section, of a skylight of ritual significance, etc. Generally the river side of the "longhouse" is the private section of the household, i.e. Selako BIIK, Iban BILEK, Rungus Dusun ONGKOB. It has one entrance from the gallery and among some groups (Iban, Selako) there may also be a door in a side wall, usually if the neighboring household includes a sibling. The cooking place and storage of water is along the wall bordering with the gallery. Family treasures such as jars and gongs, but not weapons, are lined along the wall farthest away from the entrance. The sleeping areas are along the walls, and above them are shelves with utensils for cooking and eating. Above this room is a loft (e.g. SADAU among the Iban) used for storage of rice seeds, including the inherited ones which are central in the Iban fertility cult (Freeman 1955:4). The compartment is often described in literature as feminine, because even married men in many cases do not use it for sleeping. The whole household eats together inside the compartment, but if a male guest is present, men eat separately in the gallery. On the other hand, female visitors enter this room and take their meals there (Sekine 1979:66).

In the Selako house, two ritual points are found in this room.

One is the TIHA'NG TUHA TANGAH BIIK 'senior post in the family room' which stands in the hearth corner of the room. It is the first column to be erected in house construction and is the residence of the household-protecting spirit and hence focal point of various rituals. The other ritual point is another post standing in the middle, slightly toward the back of the room. It holds the roof at a roof opening (TINGA'ATN) which is used for communication with deities, and through which prayers are addressed and offerings presented (Schneider 1975:212). Ceremonies held in this room are either those connected with the family, e.g. weddings (Appell 1978:155 for Rungus Dusun), or agriculture, e.g. protective ceremonies after the harvest when "offerings are presented to / deities and demons/ through the medium of priestesses of the women's cult" (Geddes 1954:40 for Bidayuh). Among the Rungus Dusun also the household's guardian spirit resides in this room and like among the Iban is associated with the hearth (Appell 1978:155). The significance of the compartment is expressed in prayers said during the construction ceremony of the Kenyah (Tama Ino Balan 1974). These prayers address the female deity Bungan Malan, who in the reformed Kenyah - Kayan cult assumed central position, and to the male Paselong Luan. Besides allocating their respective functions to the compartment and the veranda (e.g., "O spirit of the egg, let Bungan Malan be the bullder of the main post, and let Paselong erect the post of the verandah" - p.353), the invocation of the goddess nearly each time precedes that of the male deity whose role is clearly subordinate. Also in the Iban house, the female column of the compartment is erected before the male one of the veranda (Sekine: personal communication).

Rituals concerning the community at large, men's formal meetings as well as public and political activities are held in the open gallery (e.g. Selako SAAMI, Iban RUAI, Rungus Dusun APAD). Some personal rituals, such as the condolence before the burial, also take place there. In many ways this public area is symmetrically analogous to the apartment area. This symmetry is lexically illustrated by the Rungus Dusun house where the major subdivisions of the apartment and gallery section are designated

by the same terms: LANSANG closer to the central axis and TINGKANG toward the edges. In the Selako house, there is another ritual opening in the roof in this section called by the same term as in the apartment (TINGA'ATN), connected with the floor by a post of ritual significance (TIHA'NG SARI TANGAH SAAMI'), and both are also associated with the well-being of the house. Packages of steamed rice are hung from the post and, significantly, also weapons such as spearheads and war knives, and also skulls are attached to it (Schneider 1975, Freeman 1955:6). As in the family compartment, beneath it is a seat of honor, but more formalized (Selako: NANGKAT, Iban: PADONG RUAI). Especially here meetings are held, male guests welcomed and offerings to deities presented (Freeman 1955:5).

The two sections representing spatial dichotomy of the sexes, which has been pointed out in ethnographic literature, is a fact of active indigenous cognition. The Iban provide an example: "When Sepampandai, the 'god of creation', ... , is heard at night, this is thought to signify that a woman has conceived. 'If Selampandai is heard from the BILEK /the child/ is likely to be a girl, from the RUAI, a boy'..." (Jensen 1974:111). Among the Selako, if a man dies, a replica of a house for his soul is built outside the open gallery; if a woman dies, it is built outside the compartment on the other side (Schneider 1975:214).

The area near the central axis is of a more neutral character than the two edges, especially the section of the gallery attached to the wall of the compartment side (Selako PANGAR'ONG, Iban TEMPUAN LESONG, Rungus Dusun LANSANG, Bidayuh SIKUD RISONG), which is used as a passage way, with entrance ladders located at both ends of it, and as a rice-pounding area where mortars are kept. During public meetings and ceremonies performed by men in the gallery, women watch from this area, just as Javanese women watch the WAYANG from the entrance to the JERAMBAH. This passage-way section of the gallery is on the outer side, bordered by a hearth used on ceremonial occasions by men to cook meat. Correspondingly, the section of the compartment attached to the axial wall is characterized by consumptive functions as meals are

prepared and partaken there and utensils and water stored there. Again, there is an analogy between the two sections not attached to the central axis: the one in the compartment serves as a seat of honor (Selako) and the most important household possessions are kept there, while the opposite section is the seat of male guests, and community ceremonies are held there and purely masculine possessions such as weapons are kept in that division. However, one cannot speak here of a perfect symmetry, as the gravity center of the household as well as of the physical dwelling is the enclosed area and not the outer one. This notion is architecturally expressed in a manner similar to Java; i.e., the core of the household, the housewife, her daughters and small sons is associated with the house proper (e.g. BILEK, JERAMBAH), which is surrounded by solid walls on all four sides, while the periphery of the household, the husband and adolescent sons, is associated with the exterior section of the dwelling (e.g. RUAI, PENDAPA), which has a roof but no walls. As mentioned above, the term for household as a kinship unit (e.g. BILEK) coincides spatially with the feminine section of the dwelling. Agricultural symbolism is a crucial determinant of such an arrangement, like in Java, which is illustrated by the Selako agricultural ritual:

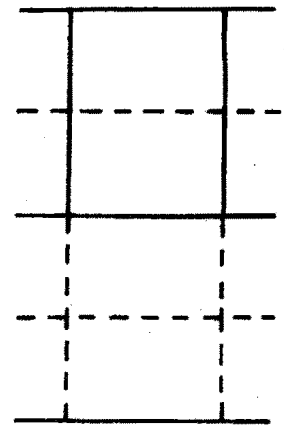


Fig. 17

"There is a body of special household ritual (RUKUN) which is specific to the BIIK-family and provides a charter for its existence as a social and spiritual entity. Special rice strains and paraphernalia related to the storage and handling of rice are identified with this household ritual, and these are all in the custodianship of the women of the household" (Schneider 1978:62).

To ensure the continuity of the Selako household, the residence which in most cases is uxori-local, the rice, the paraphernalia and the women's household ritual are transmitted in the female line from one generation to the next. This pattern is followed also in

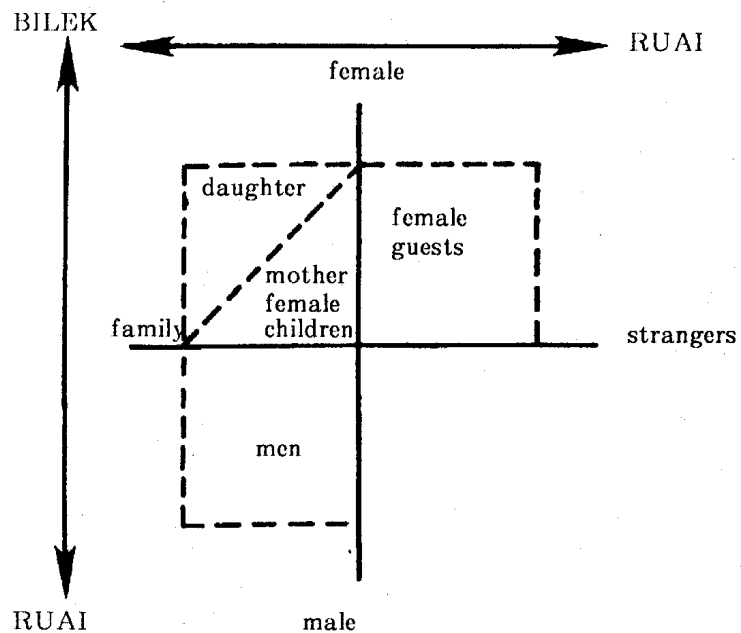


households in which post-marital residence is virilocal, and the transmission is from the husband's mother to the son's wife. Even in this case, therefore, "in Selako minds the matrilineal continuity of the BIIK remains" (Schneider 1978:63).

Sekine's (1979:67;

Fig. 18) "Family - Fig. 18

"Stranger" category appears to be redundant; rather, "Family" and "Female" should be considered as one category, and "Strangers" and "Male" as the other.



## SUMATRA

Tendency to matrifocal households is observable in a number of those Sumatran societies which are not characterized by rigid patrilineal descent systems, and it is reflected in the organization of space in dwellings. The plan differs little from that discussed above: the two major sections are an enclosed private compartment and an open veranda in front of it. The veranda is parallel to the ridge, like in Borneo and Java (even the very short ridge beam of the JOGLO type of Javanese roof is parallel with the entrance side), and the roof is often pitched rather than hipped, thus like in Java as reported by Koentjaraningrat, the dwelling has the potential to extend itself to a "longhouse" when household circumstances favor it. Such is the case with the Malay dwelling, as well as that of the Rejang, Lampung and other ethnic groups of southern Sumatra, and in some

instances the Acehnese dwelling. The Minangkabau RUMAH GADANG is a pre-planned structure of generally seven enclosed BILIK (dialectally BILIEK) and a veranda (gallery) in front of them, and it can only be extended by adding structurally separate ANJONG (ANJUENG) annexes to the ends. As in Borneo and Java (except for the Sundanese), such types of dwelling do not favor the formation of the quadripartite pattern of space division, and the major and minor axes run parallel to the ridge and entrance side. The following discussion is limited to the Acehnese and Minangkabau dwellings.

The Minangkabau extended family inhabiting the RUMAH GADANG, is characterized by both matrilineal and matrifocal relations, in which the permanent resident members are the women, residential units within it are formed by women and their children, and the formal authority is the mother's brother. The residential unit is associated with the BILIK compartment, but as the whole house, not only the BILIK, is inherited in the female line, the whole floor space is regarded to be the province of women. Men are rarely present as they often spend nights at the mosque or the BALAI hall, eat their lunches at fields, and often are absent for long periods of time (MERANTAU) (Kurata 1973, Loeb 1972, Tanner 1974).

The use of dwelling space of the Acehnese is less extreme, reflecting their kinship system "intermediate between the Javanese and the Minangkabau" (Tanner 1974:137). The residence is, like among the Minangkabau, matrilocal and the inheritance of houses matrilineal, hence the owners of the houses, including the front or outer sections reserved for the men, are women (Hurgronje 1906:I-44, Dall 1982:52), and the idiom for wife is "'the one who owns the house' (NYANG PO RUMOH)" (Siegel 1969:51). However, men have their definite place in them. Fig. 19 (a) indicates the floor plan of a typical Acehnese house consisting of the front veranda, the middle partitioned area and the back veranda. Other variants of the Acehnese dwelling consist of only one room between the two verandas, belonging to poorer households; on the other hand, the above-mentioned "longhouse" with as many as five compartments for the householding couple and their married daughters (Hurgronje

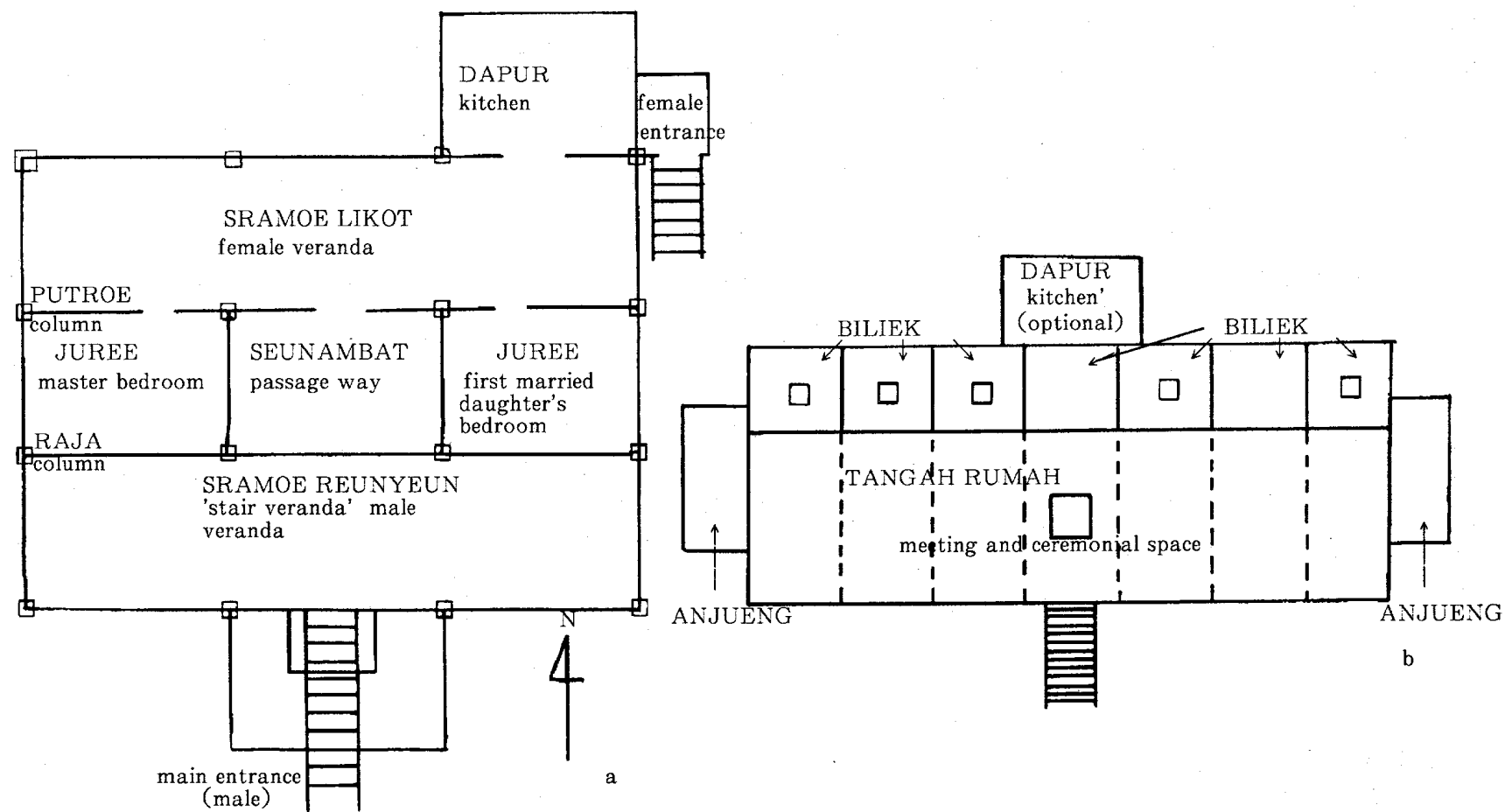


Fig. 19 : (a) Acehnese. After Dall 1982:34. Hurgronje 1906 : I-plate, Djauhari 1981:24, Kreemer 1922-3:356. (b) Minangkabau. After Umar 1971:245, Kurata 1973:104

1906:1-35) is found among richer ones. In smaller structures, the kitchen may coincide with the back veranda or may be constructed separately, connected with the main building by a bridge, which is a common feature everywhere in southeast Asia.

The front entrance to the Acehnese dwelling is used by the men of the house and their male guests, and it leads to the front veranda (SRAMOE REUNYEUN), "the almost exclusive domain of the males" (Dall 1982:40). Besides receiving guests, it is also used for prayers, performance of religious rites, discussing business, etc., and unmarried men, visitors and sometimes married men of the house sleep there. It is decorated by carvings; weapons, fishing nets and other objects used by men are placed on shelves in this portion of the dwelling (Hurgronje 1906:I-39). The section behind the front veranda consists of private bedrooms (JUREE) and a corridor between them which connects the front veranda with the back veranda. The entrance to the rooms is usually from the back veranda, indicating that the rooms form one organic whole with the back veranda. The wall between the room area and the front veranda is always solid, with no openings except the central door. Male visitors are not allowed to enter any area of the house except the front veranda, and conversely, the women of the household and female guests are rarely present there, preferring to perform their activities on the back veranda or in the rooms and use the back stairway for their movements in and out of the house. The most important space in the Acehnese dwelling is the room on the western side of the house, which includes features of the Javanese KOBONGAN or the south Sumatran (Lampung) display bedroom for marriage ceremonies (Djauhari Sumintardja 1976). The most prominent feature in it is a sleeping platform for the householding couple and a lower bench only for the man. Both, but especially the former, are covered by "piles of cushions shaped like bolsters and adorned at either end with pretty and often costly trimming" (Hurgronje 1906:I-41). Another feature of this room is its use as storage of clothing and personal ornaments. The connubial character of this room is emphasized by the fact that the first meeting of the bride and bridegroom takes place there.

Their seat at the wedding is under the two most sacred columns of the house, i.e. the bridegroom under the RAJA ('prince') column and the bride under the PUTROE ('princess') column (Hurgronje 1906:I-43). Other household ceremonies, e.g. birth rites and washing the dead, are also held in that room; all these household ceremonies are however also followed by public ones on the front veranda. The space above this room is used to store household heirlooms (PUSAKA) (Dall 1982:41). No agricultural symbolism is mentioned concerning this room in literature.

While the strict separation of the sexes in the Acehnese dwelling may be attributed to Islamic influences, the overall distribution and use of space is comparable to most parts of insular southeast Asia and closely corresponds to the roles of the household members and therefore must be considered to represent the original, pre-Islamic situation. Islam may account for the seclusion of women, but not for the complete control over areas of the highest status in the dwelling and for the marginal roles the men, including the household head, play in the management of household affairs. Central position of Acehnese women is evident also in the settlement pattern of the hamlet, which is made up of "a cluster of houses owned by sisters and aunts (mother's sisters) sharing a well and a fence" (Siegel 1969:51), and like in the Minangkabau hamlet, the kinship proximity of the women generally coincides with the physical proximity of houses. (The Acehnese patrilineages do not appear to have any reflection in spatial patterning.) Rice fields, besides the dwellings, are usually inherited in the female line, which is another factor that assures the women their central economic and social position. In many cases men leave the rice-growing areas for regions where cultivation of pepper predominates, or like Minangkabau men, go on MERANTAU journeys for wage labor in order to fulfill their economic responsibilities to their families. Husbands' and fathers' roles are therefore peripheral and unstable, and like among the Minangkabau and Javanese, the husband's failure to perform his economic duties results in divorce which terminates approximately one out of two marriages, the same rate as among the above two

ethnic groups (Tanner 1974:138-139). Hurgronje (1906:I-4) characterizes Acehnese household relations in the following way:

"The child never ceases to regard the house and GAMPONG of his mother as his own. The daughters continue after their marriage to reside in their mother's house (in which case a JUREE is vacated in their favor) or obtain another house in its immediate neighborhood. The sons when married are said to 'go home'... to their wives, yet they remain, except when visiting their wives, citizens of their mother's GAMPONG or who are still unmarried, they pass their nights in the MEUNASAH."

The Acehnese women's notion of family is, according to Siegel (1969:54), one that "consists of people that occupy the house compound - themselves, their sisters, mothers, and children. Their husbands have no place, and hence no right to make decisions" on matters concerning the household. "Acehnese women envisage paradise as the place where they are reunited with their children and their mothers; husbands and fathers are absent." Hurgronje's observation that an Acehnese man "feels like a guest in his wife's house" has been borrowed and elaborated by later researchers of the Acehnese household (Siegel 1969:179, Tanner 1974:139, Dall 1982:53). Such notions are vividly manifested in the solid unbroken wall separating the exterior veranda, reserved for masculine purposes, from the section containing family compartments, which can only be reached from the interior, female veranda. The situation is, however, not as extreme as in the Minangkabau dwelling, which is totally the women's domain and to which men's access is not entirely free ("When something is necessary and /a man/ must return home, even if it is his own house, he usually clears his throat before entering the house" - Kurata 1973:108), as men have their clearly defined territory within the dwelling. This parallels the differences in social structure between the Acehnese and the Minangkabau.

An indication of a functional axis perpendicular to the main (longitudinal, parallel to the ridge) one is discernible in the Acehnese dwelling. It separates the more important (western) side,

which is occupied by the elder couple and where the PUSAKA, the elaborate connubial bed and the principal male and female columns are located, from the less significant side, on which also the kitchen and the women's entrance are situated. Such tendency is further elaborated in the Gayo dwelling, which is architecturally related to that of the Acehnese (Fig. 20). The eastern side of the Gayo dwelling corresponds to the less significant section of the Acehnese dwelling and includes a kitchen (ANJONG) and a gathering area of women, as well as the general entrance. We may thus assume that besides the primary male-female division corresponding to the SERAMBI RAWAN and SERAMBI BONON, respectively, a secondary division is formed perpendicularly to it, the front being a female area and the more important back, presumably, male. Attributing the axial inversion to the Gayo strongly patrilineal social structure, or to patrilineal influences from Islam or the

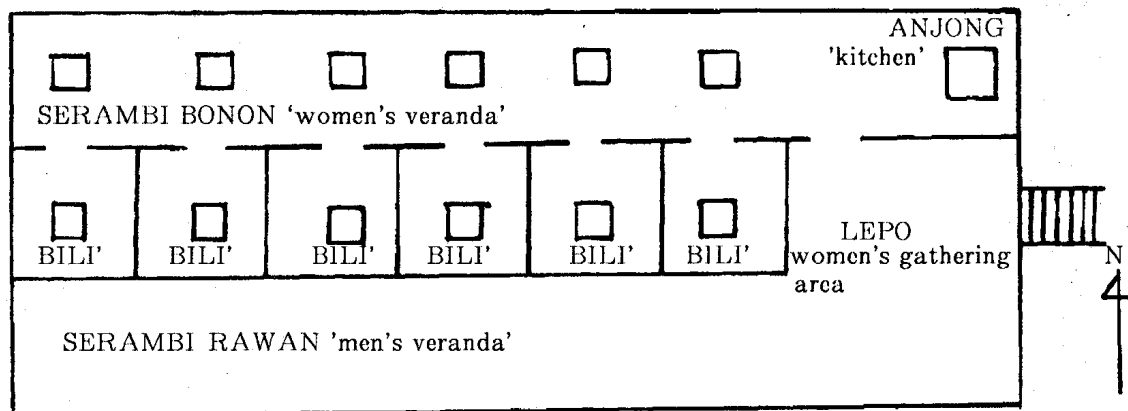


Fig. 20 : Gayo. After Nguyen 1934:59

neighboring Batak, would be a too quick and imprecise conclusion. However, the discussion below of the modern Batak dwelling, characterized by the emphasis on agnatic rather than affinal relations of the traditional one, will show that indeed the front is allotted to the women of the household and the prestigious back, or interior, to the men, and the discussion of quadripartite patterns will show that activation of a perpendicular axis generally accompanies change from one type to another. Incipience of such a process may characterize the Acehnese dwelling.

Relations between the use of dwelling space, social structure on the domestic level and economic organization are all expressed in Mentawai houses. On a very broad and general level, the plans of these dwellings exhibit patterns common to insular southeast Asia, which is accompanied by a common cultural background; Rassers (1959:208) speaks of "the same social and religious sphere" that underlines the basic unity in space use in the Mentawai and Javanese dwellings. However, the Mentawai culture is characterized by numerous archaic elements, such as the ritual predominance of hunting over agriculture, which is reflected in spatial symbolism in dwellings. Specifically, the organization of the Mentawai domestic space demonstrates that the male household members are considerably more integrated into it than is the case of the Javanese, Borneans, Minangkabau and Acehnese. Yet, there are certain factors that justify a partial inclusion of the Mentawai household to the discussion of matrifocality; namely, the MANDI life-stage. Regrettably, no data on space use in other architectural forms than the "longhouse" are available.

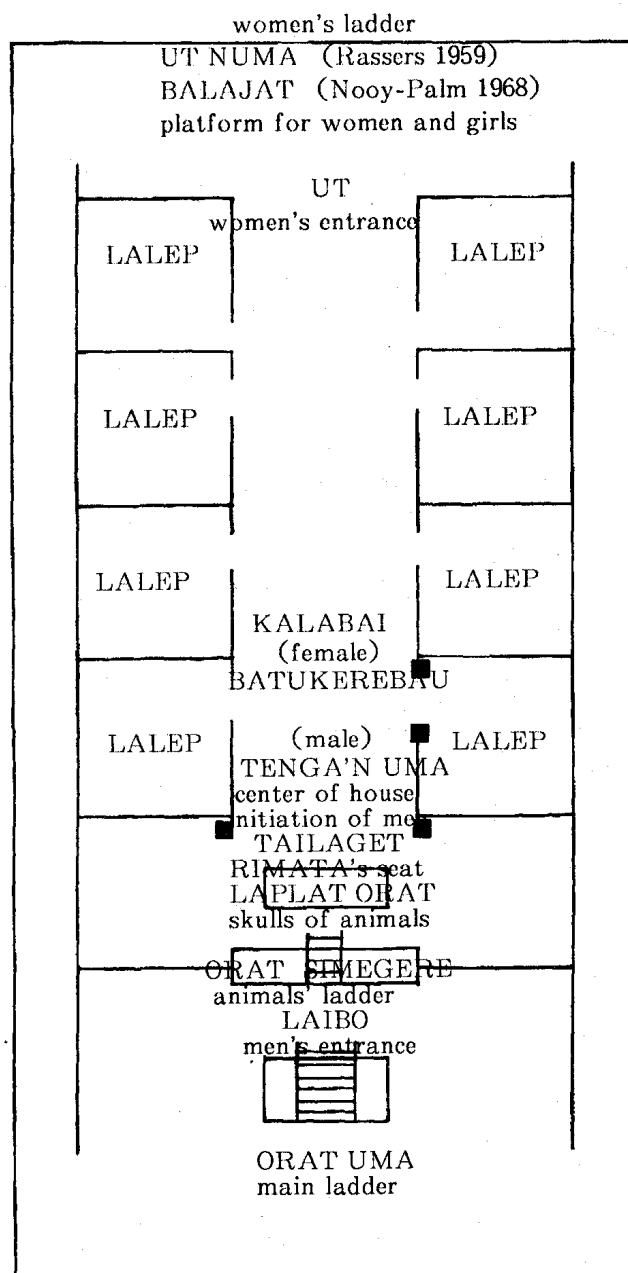
There are three types of houses among the Mentawais (as reported by Loeb 1972 and Nooy-Palm 1968) depending on the life-stage of the individuals inhabiting them. The simplest structure is the RUSUK for a household of a couple in the MANDI, i.e. informal marriage, stage. This stage lasts until approximately the age 35 (Nooy-Palm 1972:43) or 40 (Nooy-Palm 1968:217). The RUSUK is a household that permanently consists of two individuals, as the children born at this stage are taken care of ("adopted", Loeb 1972:186) by the mother's parents and the mother's brother. According to Loeb (1972:183) and Kruyt in Nooy-Palm (1968:220), one-third of the children are born during this matrilineal stage; however, the proportion should be larger if the age of termination of MANDI is indeed 35 to 40, in fact, it should be an overwhelming majority also considering the young age at which couples enter the MANDI stage. This is underscored by the tendency to a strong bond of an individual with his mother's relatives, especially mother's brother, rather than with his father's relatives. The



RUSUK may not be considered to be a complete household for the reason of the lack of commensality of the couple, an important symbol that marks the initiation to the LALEP stage of formal marriage. The man and the woman of the RUSUK still belong to their respective parents' households, where they separately take their meals; however, in this relationship, the RUSUK wife's parents predominate over the husband's, as the latter's economic obligations are to both sets of parents while the woman's obligations are only to her own parents. His economic obligations to his wife's parents include all types of heavy labor, but not work in agriculture as taro fields are owned (or in some areas at least controlled) and cultivated by women. At the same time he avoids his wife's parents, the effect of which is his minimal contact with his children. Also, there appears to be a question of biological paternity of these children. Loeb (1972:183) quotes Mentawai women of the advanced MANDI stage lamenting, "I have so much trouble, it is almost as if my children have no father", indicating that the matrifocal household is not desirable as a permanent institution. The character of the household drastically changes with the formal marriage and establishment of the LALEP house, in which the man becomes the legal father of the children and ritually establishes his authority as the head of the household and household priest (UKKUI). (Unfortunately, no data concerning the location of the altar or any other spatial landmarks in the dwelling is available.) His authority is mainly ritual; economically he plays a marginal role of hunting and managing his banana orchard and has no access to the production of taro, Mentawaiian main staple. He is economically bound to his mother's brother by working in his banana orchard and sharing its yield with him (Nooy-Palm 1968:212). The final stage is the initiation of the household into the UMA (SABEU) '(big) house', which may or may not be accompanied by the physical relocation of the household from the separate LALEP dwelling to the compartment (also called LALEP) within the "longhouse" (Fig. 21).

The Mentawai "longhouse" is characterized by a central corridor between two rows of rooms, thus being different from the

types prevalent in Borneo and Sumatra and similar to the dwellings of the Murut of Borneo and some Montagnard groups of Indochina, and outside southeast Asia the Iroquois, Jamadi etc. The front side of the building, especially the front veranda, is associated by men's occupancy and male main activity, hunting. The majority of rituals that take place in this section include elements of hunting symbolism. The skulls at the LAPLAT ORAT are mainly those of the monkey, deer and sea turtle, ritually most important animals. A ladder (ORAT SIMEGERE) connecting the ground with the floor is installed for the exclusive use of the souls of the game animals of the forest and thus serves as a ceremonial hunting entrance. All the rituals performed in this section (LAIBOKAT) are performed by men. Its function is also to accommodate men. Rassers (1959:205-206, his data based on Wirz) also mentions an enclosed piece of ground (KINUBU) in front of the UMA, which is a sacred wood, a spirit of which watches ceremonies where the participating men "imitate the characteristic movements and attitudes of certain animals". The leaves from this wood are an essential part of sacrifices and are the most important components of the idols in the individual households' (LALEP) guardian spirits. In contrast, much less ceremonial activity is reported concerning the feminine back veranda (UT NUMA). "On certain occasions (when the men have set out on a ritual hunting expedition, for example) it is the duty of the women to meet in the UT NUMA /in order/ to remove disturbing influences and to give their support to the work of the men" (Rassers 1959:206). Yet, without questioning the ritual preeminence of the front veranda, there is also certain possibility of some ritual significance of the UT NUMA concerning agriculture. Sources do not mention the location of rituals centering on INA-N-OINAN 'mother of rivers/water', which is associated with the cultivation of taro. Taro fields, generally owned by women and transmitted in the female line, are "laid under water in loose marshy earth, and the women go to their work in canoes" (Loeb 1972:163). Thus, the women are in constant contact with water which has a "cooling" (in Indonesia, "cool" equals "positive") effect capable of healing and bringing



Loeb (1972:162) reports the location of BAGAT UMA 'interior of house' here, but it cannot be verified. If so, it would indicate that the women of the UMA have a ceremonial space analogous to that for the men in the front of the UMA.

KALABAI: 'mother's sister' column ("only an honorific term" - Nooy-Palm 1968:180)

BATUKEREBAU: 'water-buffalo stone' (?) column (no megalithic cult, no cattle husbandry in the Mentaweis)

LAIBOKAT (or BAGAT UMA ?) : sleeping place for men during the period of ritual prohibition, and adolescent boys (i.e. before the MANDI stage). Hearth for cooking meat located here, also: gongs, drums, trophies.

BALAJAT: platform for men and adolescent boys. Men's gatherings, reception of male visitors.

Fig. 21 : Mentawai. After Nguyen 1934:154, Rassers 1959: pl. VI.I,  
Nooy-Palm 1968:174

about fertility (Nooy-Palm 1972:43). Loeb (1972:192) describes the INA-N-OINAN as a benevolent deity for whom no ritual prohibitions on working in the fields (PUNEN) are necessary, except for regular sacrifices. Hence, it seems likely that the women's offerings and small-scale rituals centering on INA-N-OINAN are not as clearly noticeable as the men's hunting rituals at the front of the UMA, because the deities associated with hunting are more erratic and potentially dangerous. (This is perhaps comparable to the

situation in Java where the WAYANG of the PENDAPA enjoys much more public attention, both indigenous and ethnographers', than the DEWI SRI of the KOBONGAN, despite the latter's crucial importance in the household.) Efforts to determine the location of the regular sacrifices and rituals are, of course, endeavors in speculation; however, the taro fields and the front of the house can be ruled out, the former because of their swampy character and the latter because of a potential conflict with hunting, masculine deities. The focus of INA-N-OINAN's cult may therefore be either the UT NUMA or the BAGAT UMA if Loeb (1972:162) locates it correctly to the back of the UMA, or the female column (KALABAI), or both.

Between the two ends of the UMA are the household compartments (LALEP) with their own hearths and altars, and a central corridor, characterized as a "profane" zone (Rassers 1959:206), or as a dancing area during festivals (Loeb 1972:162), the front part of which is utilized as a ground for men's initiation. The two columns on each side of the entrance to the UMA headman's compartment ((ARIGI) BATUKEREBAU and (ARIGI) KALABAI) are considered to be the symbolic center of the dwelling. Both have divine character, and the male BATUKEREBAU "looks after the well-being of the group", while the female KALABAI "is supposed to provide food for the community", a trait which coincides with the actual role of the Mentawai women (Nooy-Palm 1968:180). Nooy-Palm (p. 228) raises the possibility of the name KALABAI ('mother's sister') actually referring to a sister of INA-N-OINAN; in any case, according to her (p. 180), KALABAI "should not be regarded as the wife of the BATUKEREBAU", but she does not specify if she should be regarded as his sister or daughter. It is adequate, however, to see that affinal relations are not emphasized in the household.

Data are too few to allow any definite statement regarding relationships among household members in Mentawai, not to say to ascertain Murdock's justification in suggesting the former existence of matrilocally extended families in the Mentaweis. However, the matrifocal MANDI stage of marriage, which lasts over a half of the total length of the marriage, and offsprings of which

are temporarily matrilineally adopted; the prevalent matrilocal residence, the dominant role of women in the economy, and last but not least, the interior position of women in the dwelling, are indicators of household conditions favoring women. Murdock's suggestion of development of incipient patrilineal clan-barrios from an original situation is, however, verifiable on Siberut, where the UMA is not inhabited by households but serves as a community house, especially important in masculine affairs. Such a "council house" consists of the same three components as the Pagai "longhouse", i.e. front with hunting symbolism, middle, and back, but there are no LALEP partitions and the central section consists of a large room with a single hearth (for its plan and discussion cf. Brent 1969:169-171). It appears likely that a major role in the tendency toward social organization favoring the men in the northern Mentawais is played by Nias.

#### 2.2.2 THE DWELLING AND GRANARY (TAIWAN, LUZON)

Discussion of the Ami dwelling is not directly relevant to the topic of this section, as it is not wholly dominated by the agricultural symbolism; however, it is the only type of dwelling in Taiwan the use of space in which has been thoroughly described (Tsunemi 1973), hence it may be used as a point of departure for the discussion of the space in dwellings of other Taiwanese ethnic groups and the relationship between houses and granaries in insular southeast Asia.

The completeness of Tsunemi's report makes it possible to discern a definite quadripartite pattern (Fig. 22).

Tsunemi distinguishes the "front" half as a female and the "back" as a male space. However, the principle of diagonality of the seat of the oldest male member of the household and the oldest female at the hearth, as well as the sleeping order of the young couple and the location of the kitchen, indicate that the transverse axis also functions as a boundary between the sexes,

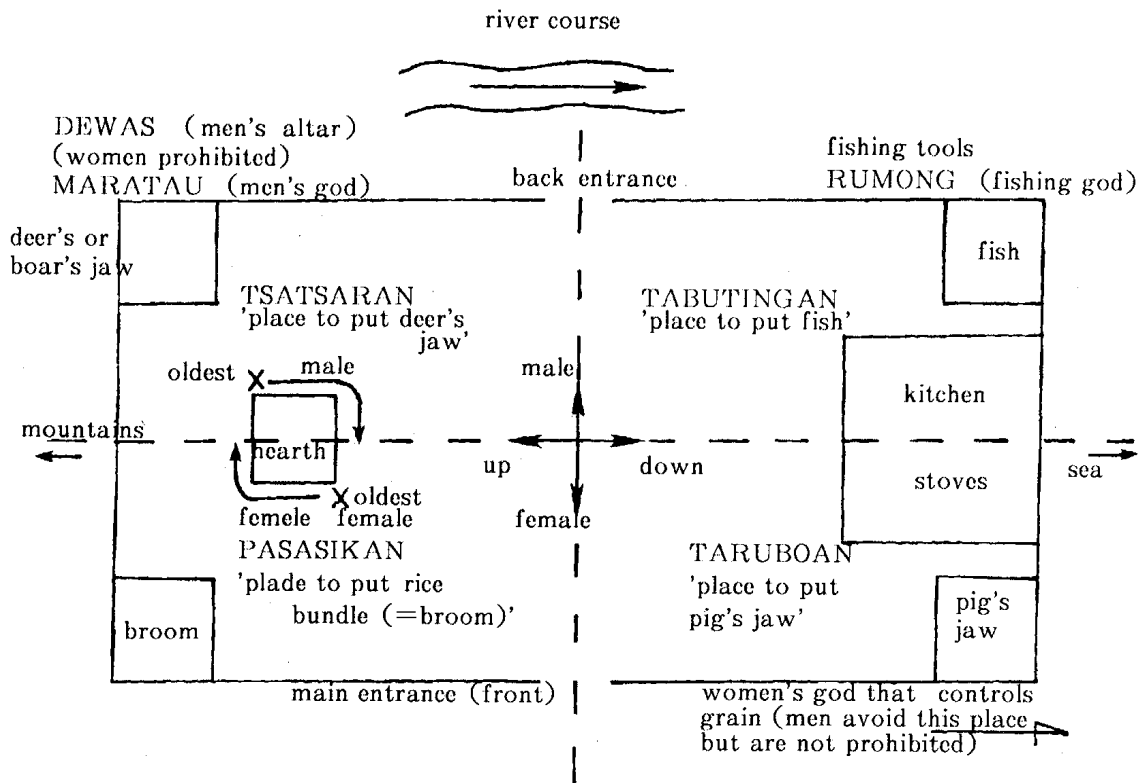


Fig. 22 : Ami. After Tsunemi 1973:163

but this distinction is clearly secondary as both "back" quarters are dominated by masculine symbols while the "front" quarters are both characterized by feminine symbols. As a consequence of the bisection of dualities, the male-female opposition appears diagonally. The purely male quarter is the "upper back" dominated by the altar to the deity MARATAU, associated with hunting objects and worshipped by men. Diagonally opposite is the fully female quarter in which an altar to an agricultural deity worshipped by women is kept, and it is characterized by the storage of foodstuffs, women's earthen jars, a loom and miscellaneous women's tools. This place is usually avoided by men. This dwelling thus exhibits an exact symmetry with two diagonally opposite centers. As mentioned above, this diagonal bipolarity is evident in the seating arrangement around the hearth, with the male spatial value decreasing from the "upper back" corner toward the "lower back" and female from the "lower front" side toward the "upper front". The "lower back" corner (TABUTINGAN) is characterized by the fishing symbolism ("back" is the side of a river and "down" is

the direction toward the sea), and the "upper front" corner (PASASIKAN) is dominated by a rice bundle ("broom"). Tsunemi describes the latter as an impure feminine as well as a neutral area. Newly married husband and wife sleep here, but after two or three children are born, generally at the age of approximately forty years, the couple separates to TSATSARAAN and TARUBOAN, respectively. Thus, the area of high status women is the "lower front" while the "upper front" relates to women of lower status, and the same but in the opposite order pertains to the male "back" side. This order agrees with the seating arrangement around the hearth.

In Tsunemi's view, the space use in the Ami house reflects the superior status of women. The Ami term for "front" also means "head". The area in front of the house (i.e., the eastern side) is always kept clean, and the granary is located on that side; on the other hand, the "back" (western) area is the side of waste disposal, huts for domestic animals etc. Tsunemi (p. 169) attaches the attributes of sacred, important, superior, clean, etc. to the "front" or female side, and dirty, inferior, polluted, unswept, vulgar, etc. to the "back" or male area. According to Tsunemi, the dwelling space thus gives preference to the household's women, which correlates with their high economic status and their decisive role in the division of labor, agriculture being incomparably more important as a source of nutrition than hunting and fishing (p. 171).

Such high economic and social status of women would not be surprising in a household of an Indonesian-speaking matrilineal society that the Ami is; however, the Ami use of dwelling space as described by Tsunemi does not agree with the situation among other southeast Asian peoples, especially insular southeast Asian ones, where the high domestic status of women is expressed by the interiority of their domain (cf. previous section). Chijiwa (1960:65) provides two ground plans of the Ami house of different localities. One house opens on the long side, but it is the contrary side to that indicated by Tsunemi as "front", thus it seems to correlate the female area with the interior, conforming

to the norm in insular and east mainland southeast Asia. The other Chijliwa's dwelling opens on the short side evidently corresponding with Tsunemi's low side, thus allocating the front side where the kitchen is located to women and the interior, Tsunemi's "high" side, to men, according to the transverse axis. Chijliwa does not mention the position of individual household members, nor does he recognize the two perpendicular axes, therefore this problem cannot be pursued further at present; however, without questioning the validity of Tsunemi's assessment of the status of women in the Ami dwelling, it seems that its quadripartite space does not unambiguously allocate superior sections to women; rather, the symmetry and bipolarity of reference points indicate the emphasis on equality of the sexes and their economic activities.

The organization of space in dwellings of other Taiwanese ethnic groups, as indicated in Chijliwa's house plans, conforms to the general insular southeast Asian pattern, although details are lacking because of Chijliwa's focus on the material aspects of the dwelling. In dwellings of several ethnic groups, the front (entrance area) is sharply distinguished from the back, either by the longitudinal or the transverse axis depending on the position of the door (in Taiwan the entrance is often on the long side, and the boundary is formed by a wall. The front area often appears as the extension of a slate-paved courtyard, which plays an analogous role to the veranda of the raised-floor dwellings of other parts of insular southeast Asia. The back room, often characterized by a higher floor, contains the cooking area and consistently among the Paiwan and Bunun, and sporadically among other ethnic groups (Tsou, Atayal), prominently the grain storage area (Fig. 23). This fact itself suggests that the back area is the domain of women. This is confirmed by Fujishima (1948:39) who describes the division of space in the Paiwan dwelling as "male near the entrance, female far from it". Fujishima's data (pp. 39, 45, 49) invariably locate the grain storage area as well as the altar for the household's guardian deity to the back of the dwelling, which suggests the prominence of women in the Paiwan house.



Animal bones associated with the hunting cult are reported from most parts of aboriginal Taiwan (Fujishima 1948:45, 55, LeBar 1975:133, 144) and are placed on the front side of the dwelling, on

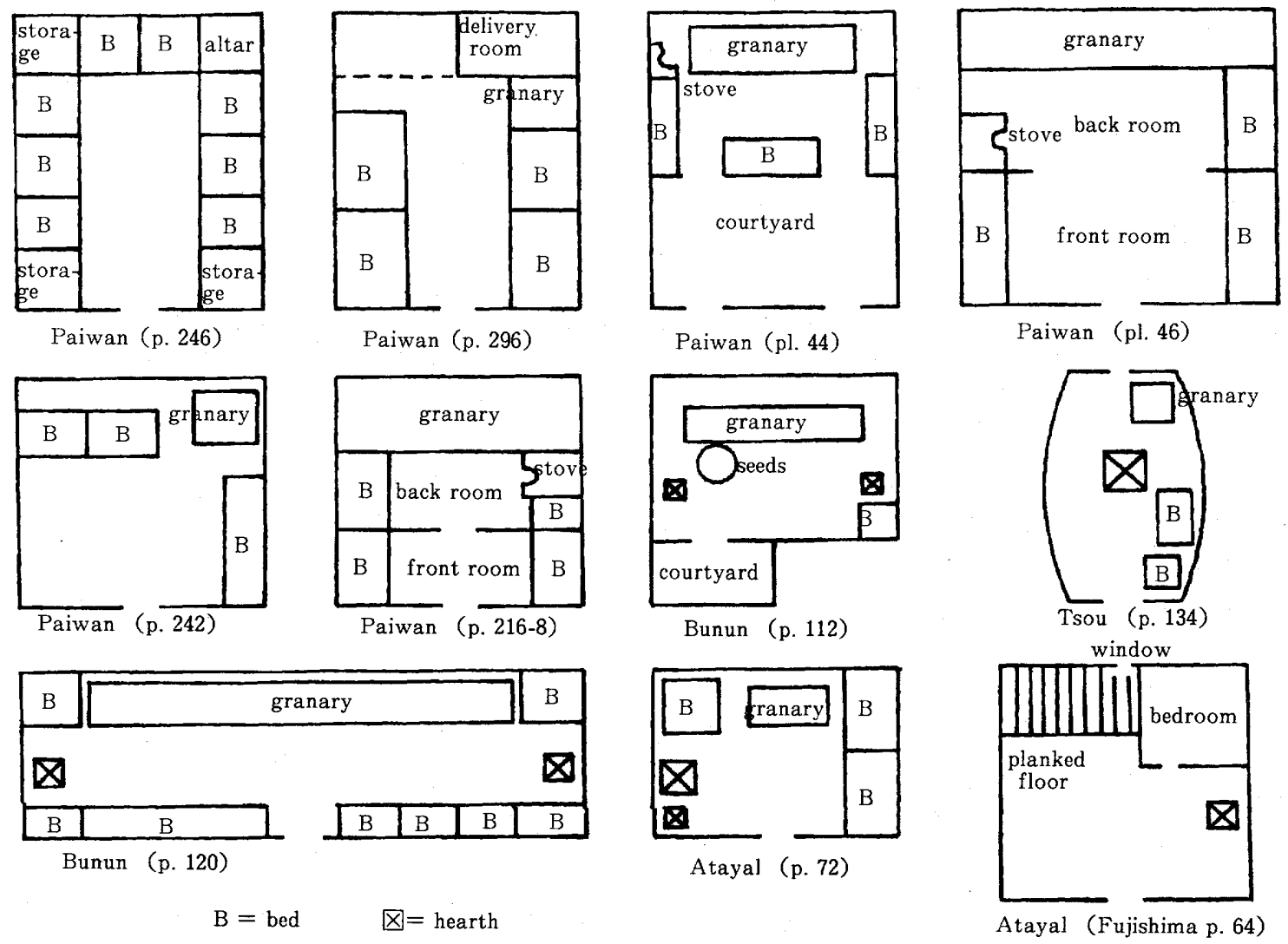


Fig. 23: Paiwan, Bunun, Tsou, Atayal. After Chijiwa 1960

the partition wall or above men's bed (Paiwan), or on the left side of the entrance to the dwelling (Tsou). From the little data available, it appears that there is certain spatial association among the grain storage place, or in its absence a basket for sacred grain (e.g. among Tsou), the household guardian deity's altar, the sleeping platform (housewife's?), and perhaps the secluded delivery room (e.g. Paiwan). Such association is very important in view of insular southeast Asia on the one hand and Japan on the other; however, the state of the present knowledge does not allow penetration into this problem.

Obviously, the Paiwan do not store all their rice in the dwellings; they also use granaries of a type common in parts of insular southeast Asia, i.e. a raised floor of a square plan, rat guards and an almost pyramidal roof with a very short ridge. Since there is no differentiation of grain kept in the house and the granary, it follows that the symbolism and ritual associated with both structures is analogous. The granary, both as a section of the residential dwelling and as an independent building, is not a place to keep only grain but also precious possessions such as herlooms, and hence it is associated with wealth and sacredness. In addition, in many parts of insular southeast Asia, the beliefs concerning the rice plant, such as the nature of the soul of the rice mother, are very closely related to those concerning the human beings, and the birth of a rice plant and stages of its growth are often considered to be identical to the human birth and growth. The conception of the seed is often stimulated by married couple's intercourse, which accounts for the fusion of agricultural and sexual symbolism in dwellings (e.g. the above-discussed KOBONGAN of the Javanese house with its bed of state and offerings to DEWI SRI). It has been suggested above with regard to the Javanese JOGLO type of roof that it may indicate the application of granary architecture to domestic in an effort of extending the prestige and ritual value of the granary to the dwelling, and further combining the agricultural and domestic rituals. While no such architectural indication exists among the Paiwan or any other ethnic group of Taiwan despite the fact that

their most important interior sections of dwellings are utilized as granaries, there are instances of dwellings originating in granary architecture elsewhere in insular southeast Asia.

The architecture of the Ifugao dwelling (BALE) is characterized by a pyramidal roof with either a very short or no ridge, an almost exactly square floor plan and rat guards on its four posts (Fig. 24). The floor area of these dwellings is very small and it generally accommodates only the household head, the housewife and children of young age, grown-up children having relocated to youth dormitories and the elderly couple having retired to the ABONG dwelling (discussed below) or remaining in the old BALE while the young couple has built its own. The BALE is also used to store grain, generally in the attic, along walls and under sleeping platforms. The Ifugao also possess granaries proper which are almost indistinguishable from the BALE.

A quite different type of an Ifugao dwelling is the ABONG, which may be of various architectural forms, but is always characterized by the presence of a ridge. Some of them are fairly large, in many cases larger than the BALE, and they may be inhabited by a larger number of persons, often including children of a youth-dormitory age and an elderly couple, and in many cases exhibits the typical southeast Asian architecture with a pitched roof and a front veranda. Lambrecht (1929:124) describes them as "homes of old people who have transferred their own houses to their married children .../or/ of poor people who have inherited no house from their parents". In fact, the latter accounts for the majority of the ABONG dwellers; i.e., this dwelling is inhabited mainly by the poor and largely landless NAWATWAT class who live either in their landlords' hamlets in which they constitute only a small minority, or in hamlets near their landlords' fields, the distinctive feature of which is the large number of ABONG residential structures. Unlike the BALE, the ABONG is devoid of agricultural symbolism, lacks rat guards and no agricultural idols (BULUL) are placed in them.

Barton (1969) describes the BULUL as "granary idols", however, these large carved wooden figures, generally of male-female

couples, can equally be considered to be household idols, as their function is to protect both the granary and the dwelling with its inhabitants, as well as the rice fields, and are located in both buildings. According to a myth, the origin of the BULUL is in the rice field, of which the female deity separated first to assume the function of house and granary protection, and became immobile unlike the male BULUL that is taken out of the BALE or granary on agricultural events. The sexual dichotomy present in the seating arrangement in the dwelling corresponds with the position of the male and female BULUL on a shelf opposite the entrance.

Scott's (1969: 215) suggestion that the general Ifugao dwelling has developed from the granary is reasonable. His justification of such a view that

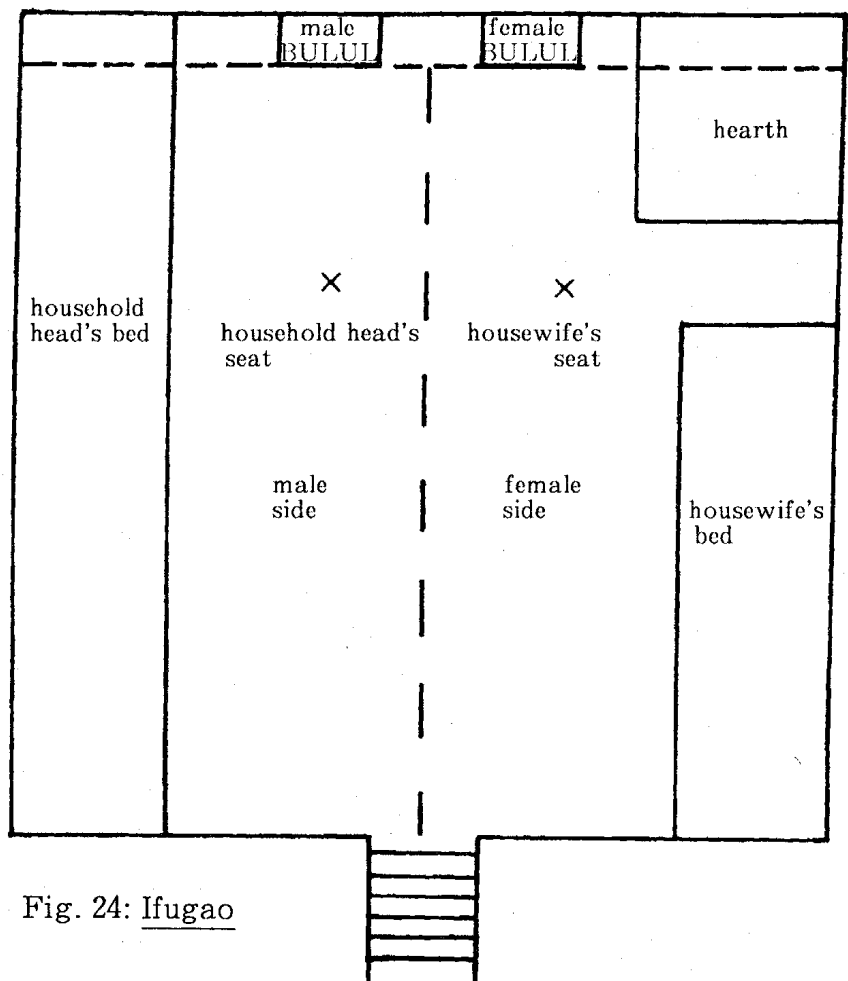


Fig. 24: Ifugao

"so advantageous a feature as the ridgepole and its two smoke-holes would hardly have been given up deliberately", as there is no outlet for smoke in the pyramidal roof of the BALE, is indisputable, as well as the presence of rat guards, a feature typically associated with granaries. The view of the development of the dwelling from the granary is further supported by the agricultural symbolism which the ABONG of the landless NAWATWAT lacks, and the fact that the origin of the BALE household's

guardian deity is in the irrigated rice field.

The case of the neighboring Bontok is similar; however, they do not dwell in the granary itself; rather, the roof of the granary is extended to the ground, and the residential area is on the ground surrounding the elevated granary. The Bontok dwelling is thus the only ground-level type of dwelling in Luzon.

The same phenomenon is common in eastern Indonesia where a ridgeless roof with heavy layers of thatch reaching almost to the ground cover a square structure, giving the impression of a round dwelling (though genuinely round dwellings do exist in eastern Indonesia, e.g. Manggarai). The "round" Ema "core house" (Fig. 28), for example, which appears rather similar to the Ifugao BALE (no ridge, square plan, hearth at a back corner, sexual dichotomy perpendicular to the entrance side, a stone platform underneath), has the same structure as the granary, except for the presence of walls (Clamagirand 1976:40); on the other hand, the inferior, secular houses which are dependent on the core houses always have a ridge (Clamagirand 1980:136). The development of a house from a granary is also suggested by Barnes (1974:65) for the Solorese whose house and granary are not, however, characterized by a pyramidal roof. According to one of Barnes' informants (p.64), "formerly everyone lived in his granary"; according to another (p.65), "there had always been some who had their dwellings separate"; according to yet another, "when granaries were used as dwellings, there was a platform built beneath the granary which was enclosed with walls, and this was where its inhabitants lived", i.e. like the above-mentioned Bontok dwelling. Whatever the case may be, Barnes shows that the granary "is not separable from the ordinary dwelling, and is actually of more importance", and its superior significance can be seen in its designation -- WETAQ RIAN 'the great house'. Among both the Ema and Solorese, the granary is associated with feminine activities; among the Solorese, men are not allowed to enter it (p. 76). Just as the Bontok (or the Solorese in the past according to Barnes' third informant) who reside underneath a granary, the attic of ordinary raised-floor or ground-level dwellings is also used for storage of grain among

many peoples of eastern Indonesia, and the same symbolism as that of a granary characterizes it: the grain is kept there in association with household valuables, and women control it. As Barnes (p. 77) deduces, "if the granary is symbolically associated with the woman, it would seem that the dwelling must necessarily also be associated with the woman". Barnes could not find any clear-cut answer to this question among the Solorese; however, much positive evidence can be found among other peoples of eastern Indonesia, which is dealt with in the next section.

### 2.2.3 AFFINAL RELATIONS AND DWELLING SPACE

#### EAST INDONESIA

Dwellings of the peoples inhabiting the islands of eastern Indonesia exhibit numerous common features in spatialization of human relations within them. In general, both their architecture and the use of space in them follow the pattern prevalent throughout insular southeast Asia. Except for the dwellings of Atoni, Manggarai and others, the floor is raised on piles above ground. The boat symbolism characteristic for insular and partially mainland southeast Asia has a particularly extensive distribution in eastern Indonesia, and in many cases the boat symbolism determining the layout of a dwelling and terminology of its parts coincides with the whole settlement (e.g. Lionesse) or the whole island (e.g. Savu, Roti). In addition, it is often perceived as a human being or an animal, a feature that appears sporadically in most parts of the world.

As mentioned in the previous section, the function of the dwelling in eastern Indonesia is both to accommodate human beings and to store grain. The grain is usually stored in the loft above the dwelling space, often together with agricultural deities' idols or ritual objects, as well as household treasures (e.g. Fox 1972:78

for the Savunese), although the latter are also often found in the main living area. The entrance to the loft is generally gained by a ladder placed in the interior of the dwelling, an area inaccessible to visitors from outside and in many cases an area associated with women's activities. For example, among the Solorese (Barnes 1974:76-77), only the housewife is allowed the entrance to the inner part of the granary. The previous section has shown that the area of grain storage is considered to be the center of the house (e.g. Bontok), therefore the central position of women, whose role in agriculture is essential, is secured in the dwelling.

"The symbolic associations /of-the Caraubalo Tetum dwelling/ incline it toward the feminine elements of the cosmos. In the home wives are definitely the masters." This applies to the whole dwelling despite the fact that it is divided into two parts, female of the interior and male of the exterior (Hicks 1976:65). The female section is termed the 'womb of the house' and contains, besides the hearth, a ritual column to which a shelf is attached for various sacred objects, including a cloth that represents mother's womb and symbolizes the relation between the wife-givers and wife-takers. No such ritual post is found on the male side which consists of two front rooms and the main veranda (Hicks 1976:61). Likewise, the Savunese dwelling is divided into a female and male halves, corresponding to back and front. Women's "secret rituals" take place in the back half, which is completely enclosed and therefore dark. Food, thread and women's "equipment" are kept on a loft in the back section (Kana 1980:227). The house proper, termed as 'house interior' is reserved for women and is dominated by a centrally placed rice basket in the Pantarese dwelling. The male space is the outer platform (Vatter 1932 in Nguyen 1934:144). The inside of the Solorese dwelling is the female space and male is outside (Barnes 1974:77), while the concept of the inside is superior to that of the outside (Barnes 1980:93). The larger half of the Rotinese dwelling is called the 'inner house' and is reserved for females. Besides the cooking hearth and the water pot, the so-called "nine-seeds" of the agricultural cult, as well as

a ladder to the loft, are located there. The 'outer house' or male side contains such objects as the sword, spear and parang (Fox 1973:345). Feminine symbols are concentrated in the interior of the Lionese dwelling near a ritual panel (BENGA TOKO) associated with the main column, and the area surrounding it is the "pivotal location of the household women". Valuable objects are stored at the back of the dwelling on the loft under the roof. The central room of the dwelling is known as 'mother's womb' (Yamaguchi 1983:12-13,15). The 'inside room' of the Ili Mandiri dwelling is surrounded by four 'mother columns' (RIA INA) in the women's room, and is used for storing valuables. Men, spatially separated from women, keep to the platform which is outside the walls of the building but under the same roof (Vatter 1932 in Nguyen 1934:128). The Atoni dwelling consists of an 'inner section' (NANAN) composed of four 'mother columns' (NI AINAF), which is considered to be the female space if taken as a whole and in opposition to the outer veranda; its femininity increases toward the interior. The interior of the dwelling, i.e. the 'inner section', is associated with various Atoni cultural concepts of centrality, which is superior to the peripherality concept. Cunningham (1973:223) correlates the spatial arrangement of the Atoni dwelling to the administrative structure of the Atoni principedom, which consists of a periphery of four secular lords whose symbolic character is masculine, and one sacral lord at the superior center who is called a 'woman' (FETO) and expresses femininity. The dwelling of the Belu of Timor also follows the same general pattern of the female concentration in the interior of the dwelling and male toward the exterior (Vroklage 1952:514-515). Finally, the men's space is divided from the female space in the East Sumbanese dwelling by the central hearth, men gravitating toward the front and women toward the back (Forth 1981:39, Adams 1969:29).

The male-female spatial dichotomy is often symbolized by the presence of a male post on the male side and its female counterpart opposite it. This is the case of the East Sumbanese, Savunese, certain Atoni (Reinhardt 1956), Belu and Ema. However, these columns do not necessarily conform to the male-female



division that is based on the front-back positions, but rather according to factors guided by the axis perpendicular to it, i.e. right and left. In order to examine this problem more closely, it is necessary to first discuss the function of the two axes and the resulting quadripartite pattern of space arrangement formed by the bisected halves, separately for the individual ethnic groups of eastern Indonesia.

The Savunese dwelling, as mentioned above, consists of a front section and a back section, determined by the longitudinal axis. Each side has its own ladder and entrance. The longitudinal axis is defined by the ridge beam which symbolically consists of a head part and a tail part, conforming to the conception of the house as a human being lying on the back. Simultaneously the dwelling represents a boat, the front and back of which are indicated by the two main columns, designated as the stern and bow columns. The front and back of the ship-dwelling is defined by the transverse axis, and have the same accompanying meanings as the front and back defined by the longitudinal one; i.e., the front coincides with the exterior area of male activities and the back with the interior area of female activities. The longitudinal axis divides the space into the right half (front), which consists of two open verandas used for receiving guests, eating and other activities, and the left side (back) which is more secluded and interior. Kana (1980:230) attributes the notions of "right, front, older, odd, male" to the former and "left, back, younger, even, female" to the latter. The transverse axis creates two halves of similar meanings. The bow half is oriented to the outside and has imperfect enclosures. Most public rituals which take place inside the house are performed by men in this half, and generally they are non-agricultural, dry-season rituals in which the focus is the male figure PULODO 'sun ancestor'. The stern or interior half, especially its left side, is fully enclosed, with a door through which only the housewife may pass. This section is dominated by the stern column which plays an important role in rituals, but unlike the bow column its character is private and it may not be seen by outside persons. The "stern" half of the dwelling is

associated with "prosperity, protection, agricultural rituals directed toward a female figure BANI AE 'great woman' who makes agriculture possible (Kana 1980:229). Above this side is a "loft where seed, cloth, and other valuables are stored", and access to it "is granted to the women of the house" (Fox 1972:78). The Savunese house seen schematically, therefore, indicates a quarter which is fully enclosed, interior and female (A), and a quarter diagonally opposite it, which has an exactly opposite (open, exterior, male) character (B). The two axes that form this diagonality are thus synonymous. The remaining two diagonally arranged quarters (A/B) combine in an asymmetrical manner the semantic property of A and B. The diagonality in this quadripartite pattern is underlined by the fact that the two entrances, male and female, are situated not in a direct, but a diagonal opposition against each other (de Wetering 1926 in Nguyen 1934:122).

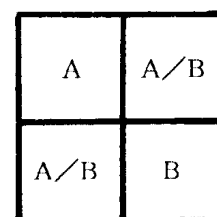


Fig. 25

Similar symbolism pertains to the Rotinese dwelling (Fig. 26). The two halves known as the 'inner house' (UMA DALEK; UMA: 'house', DALE: 'inside', 'heart', 'core' - Fox 1973:343) and the 'outer house' (UMA DEAK), which coincides with the male-female, / division, actually are not related to the position of the entrance which is on the long side of the building. The 'inner house' always faces west, and is associated with "spirits of the inside (NITU NAI DALEK)", who are described as "a class of named ancestral spirits who are seen as guardians of the house" (p. 349); in fact, these male and female ancestral spirits are referred to as 'spirits of the house' (NITU UMA, p. 346), and are characterized by fertility (p. 364). The latter attribute may be related to the agricultural cult of the 'nine seeds' (PULE SIO, p. 345). On the other hand, the "spirits of the outside" (NITU NAI DEAK) are connected with the outside world rather than the household, especially with wilderness and the sea (p. 343). The position of the 'Male-man' (TOU MANE), to whom

offerings are made at the 'right post' (DI KONA), in this scheme, cannot be determined. (Most likely this deity is identified with the latter class, as the house-protecting and ancestral deities are associated with the inner, female section.) Likewise, insufficient data does not allow any evaluation of the categories of "right" and "left" which are perpendicular to the "inside" and "outside" categories; however, the fact that the ritual "male" column is on that side, and that the household master's seat while receiving a guest is on a platform on that side outside the house but under its roof, may perhaps indicate that, like in the Savunese

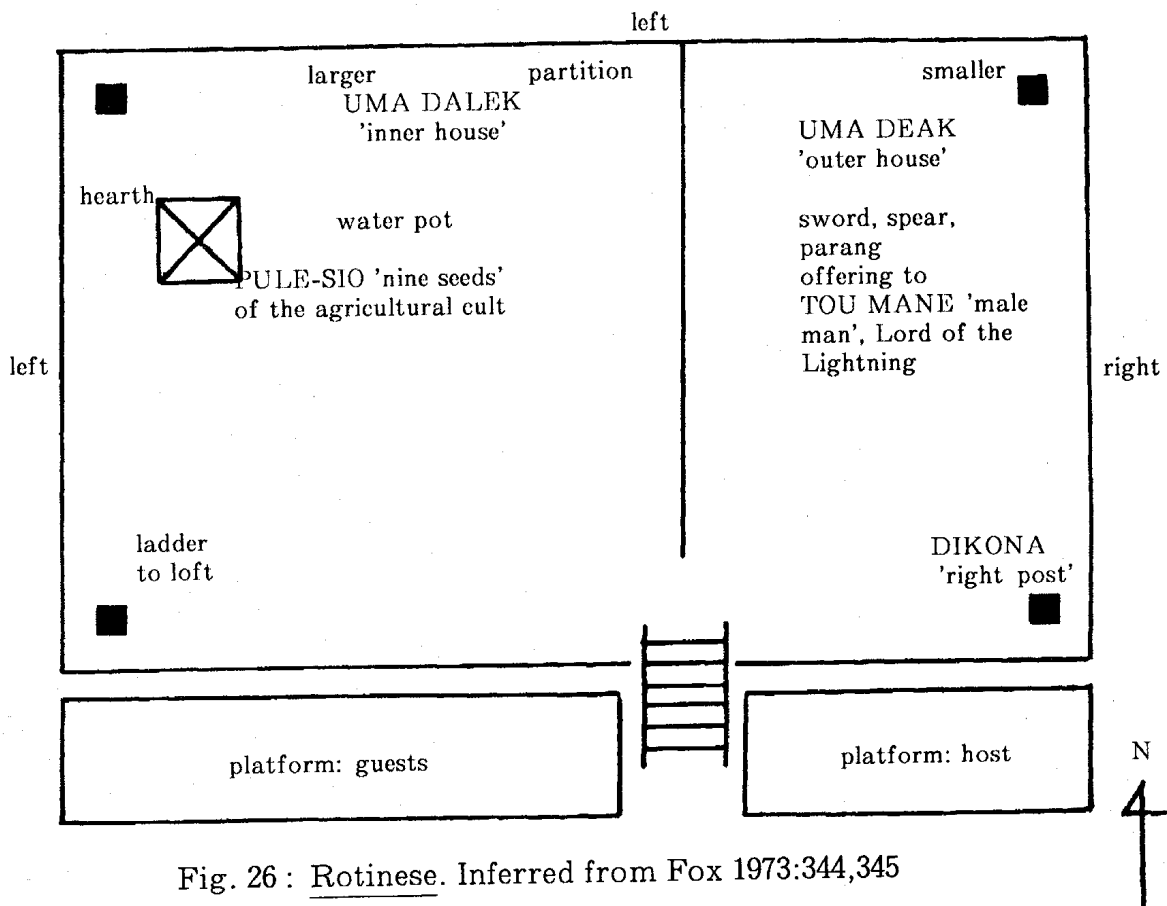


Fig. 26 : Rotinese. Inferred from Fox 1973:344,345

house, the right side is more public and pertinent to men's activities than the left side. Nevertheless, the primary axis that divides the sexes, perhaps more so than in the Savunese house, is the transverse one, i.e. perpendicular to the ridge axis.

The same apparently applies to the dwellings of the Alorese (DuBois 1944:20) and the Ema of Timor (Clamagirand 1975:40). Among the latter, the female side, separated by a beam on the floor, is

characterized by the 'column of the feminine ridge' (RI ULUN INE) and the 'little platform' (SORO BI'IN). At the foot of this platform are baskets with grains, cotton, clothes and other objects. However, this half of the dwelling is of little ritual importance, as most of the household's sacred objects are kept in the male half which is dominated by the 'great platform' (SORO BOTEN) and the 'column of the masculine ridge' (RI

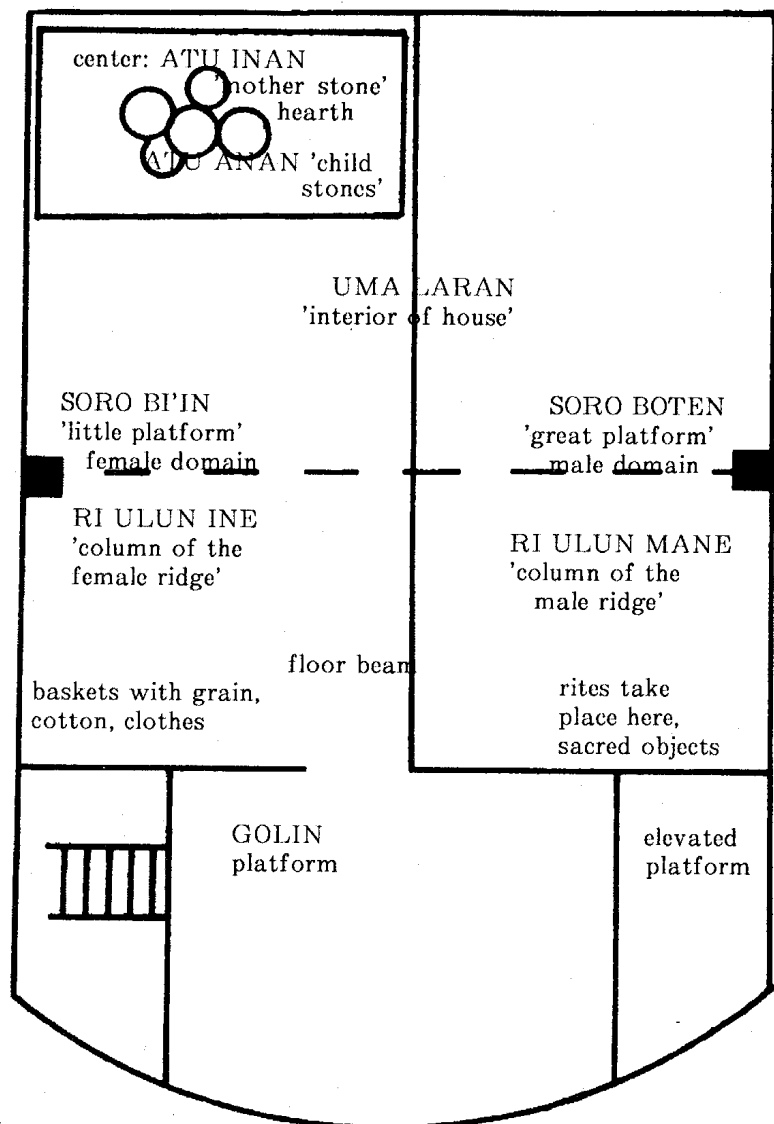


Fig. 27 : *Ema*. After Clamagirand 1975:40

ULUN MANE), at the foot of which are placed "heirlooms of gold and silver discs that have come from the ancestors and constitute the insignia of the house" (Clamagirand 1980:136). All other ritual objects are along the eastern wall of the male section. The access to the main room of the dwelling is gained through a doorway, which is decorated by a wooden carving of a pair of breasts, from a raised covered veranda. The section of the veranda opposite the entrance ladder comprises an elevated platform. Although Clamagirand is silent on the meaning of this platform, it is possible to infer from parallel instances in eastern Indonesia that it is used by the household master receiving male guests, and

that this public veranda contrasts with the enclosed, or interior part of the dwelling, which may be considered, despite its male and female halves, as predominantly female, as illustrated by the symbol of the breasts at the door. (This symbol at the door is not limited to the Ema but is reported from other areas of eastern Indonesia, e.g. Vroklage 1952:514 for Belu, Yamaguchi 1983:13 for Lionese, cf. Heine-Geldern in Loeb 1972:308.)

That this suggestion is not necessarily unreasonable may be seen upon comparison with the quadripartite layout of the Atoni dwelling as described in Cunningham's (1973) detailed analytical treatise. Also, various other elements pertaining to the use of space in east Indonesian dwellings that appear in a haphazard manner throughout literature can be seen arranged in a systematic way in the description of the Atoni house.

The square building studied by Cunningham (1973) has developed from that of a circular plan which was formerly the dominant type (Schulte-Nordholt 1971:429); the inner arrangement of space, however, differs only in details (cf. Reinhardt 1956; his plan resembles more a Belu house than Atoni). The Atoni dwelling, as described by Cunningham, is oriented in such a way that its entrance faces south, which the Atoni associate with "right", while its back is on the northern or "left" side. The access to the dwelling is gained through the outer section (SI'U) or veranda, which serves mainly as an area for receiving guests, especially men of the lineages with which the household has affinal relationship. It is also a place where men work and unmarried young men sleep. From here one enters the interior of the dwelling, termed NANAN 'interior', 'center', in which four main columns, termed 'mother posts' (NI AINAF) carry the weight of the roof, and a hearth located at center or back, but not front, two or three sleeping platforms, and a water jar at back are the most prominent points in the interior of the house. Cunningham contrasts the enclosed interior section, in which feminine symbolism predominates, to the outer section or veranda, and further with the yard in front of the house (MONE, 'outside', 'male'), which is characterized by masculine activities and symbolism.

Orientation within the dwelling is established by facing the door, thus the western part becomes "right" and the eastern part "left". The right and left has the same implication of sexual dichotomy as the right and left coinciding with the exterior and interior sections; i.e. right is male, as stressed by the 'male sacrificial pole' (HAU MONEF, Schulte-Nordholt 1971) outside on

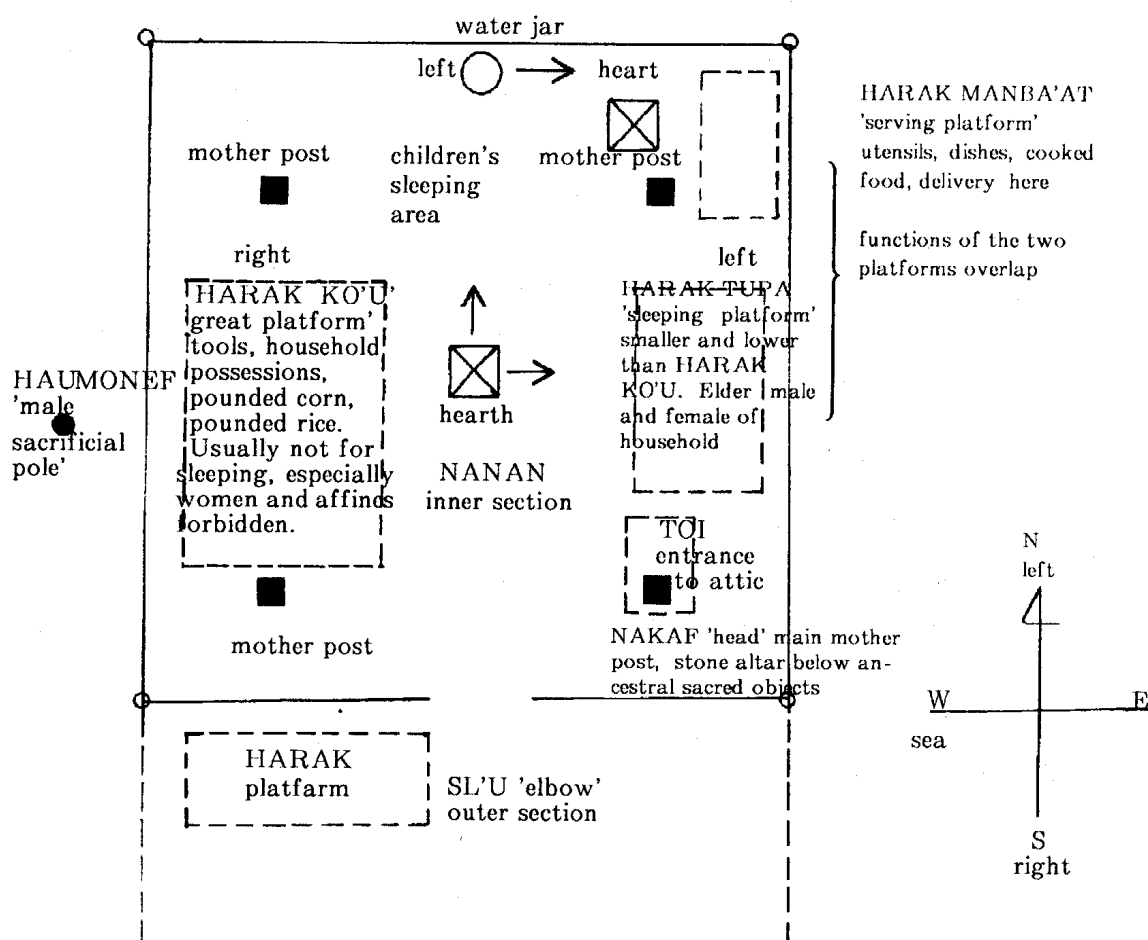


Fig. 28 : Atoni. After Cunningham 1973 (the sacrificial pole added from Schulte-Nordholt 1971)

that side, and left is female. The right side of the interior section is marked by the so-called 'great platform' (HARAK KO'U), on which are placed such objects as tools, household possessions, pounded corn and rice. Women and affines are prohibited to sleep on it, and in the daytime men and elders of the household or its lineage, as well as the wife-giving affines are seated there. Two smaller platforms may be on the left side, one in the back corner, used for storing cooking utensils, dishes and cooked food, and on

which women give birth, and one directly opposite the "great platform", which is used by household members, except for unmarried young men, for sleeping. The hearth and the water jar which are placed toward the back, may be located on the central axis of the house or to the left, but never to the right.

Thus, the Atoni dwelling may be seen in terms of perpendicularly bisected halves, i.e. the left and right on the one hand, and the interior and exterior, or center and periphery which also are perceived as left and right, on the other. Both of these categories are marked by the female-male distinction. Most particularly, the female element is associated with the back left corner (p. 222), while the male element is associated with the right side of the veranda, especially the platform on it, which may be considered as a male seat of honor ("A man of some social importance may eat here regularly, being served by his wife or children who crouch in the doorway while he eats..." - p. 209, though normally, if no guests are present, men eat with women in the interior). Further, wife-givers who are considered as male and superior are seated on it, while wife-takers, considered feminine, sit on the floor of the left side of the veranda (p. 227).

The Atoni dwelling accommodates a nuclear family; however, all the household rituals that are connected with a family member's life cycle are always attended by members of the wife-giving and wife-taking lineages. Their participation is to a large extent mandatory, and it may be said that in a ritual sense they belong to the household as an extension. Hence, four categories must be dealt with when treating the Atoni (and probably all the other east Indonesian, but data are incomplete) dwelling: 1. agnates, 2. their wives, unmarried sisters and daughters, 3. wife-givers and 4. wife-takers.

In daily and ceremonial life, the wife-givers are considered to be superior, male and senior. Among non-agnates, only the wife-givers are allowed to enter the interior of the dwelling, in which case they are seated on the "great platform" on the right side, which is the male side of the "center", where objects of men's use and main provisions of raw food are placed, and correspond to the

category of objects they receive in bridewealth (live animals, paddy, pounded rice), i.e. raw objects. The objects they give to their wife-takers are those that can be classified with those associated with the platform on the left side, i.e. cooked meat, cooked rice, woven cloth etc. The housewife's role in this framework is mediation between the wife-giving lineage and her husband's lineage, a factor that strongly contributes to, if not determines, her high status, as her natal lineage is superior to that of her husband. The household thus stresses affinity, which is illustrated by the term MATSAU UME NANAN ('marriage within the house'), i.e. the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage which allies the mother's and father's lineages by including the groups conceptually within a house (p. 226). It is in this context of women functioning as links with the vital wife-giving lineage, which is essential besides securing a wife to perpetuate the lineage, in such ritual duties as cutting the placenta, constructing a house and conducting a ceremony initiating its occupancy, and sending the soul of the deceased to join its ancestors in a death ritual (p. 229) for their wife-takers. The housewife's high status is spatially reflected in her occupation of the "interior" or "center" of the dwelling. Cunningham (p. 230) describes the housewife's domestic position as follows:

"Atoni consider women to be more fixed generally than men, more trustworthy and more stable in personality. Women control the purse-strings, and children in a home (particularly a broken home) gravitate toward the mother. Children commonly follow a divorced mother, in time if not immediately, even though the children remain agnates of their genitor or pater, and the completion of a stage in bridewealth transfers jural rights over a child from the mother's patrilineage to the father's."

Cunningham also compares the central position of women in the household to the structure of the Atoni principdom, which consisted of peripheral territories ruled by secular lords, who were as warriors considered male, and a center, also called NANAN, ruled by a sacral chief referred to as a woman and whose



activities symbolized the female sex (p. 224). The "male" secular lords of the periphery could only "pray for fertility or rain for their crops...through the sacral lord, the symbolically female 'sleeping one' at the center of the territory" (p. 229).

Quadripartite pattern of space use, and the women's occupancy of the interior, is characteristic in the East Sumbanese dwelling; however, the spatial arrangement does not favor the female element to such an extent as in the dwellings of the other ethnic groups of eastern Indonesia discussed above (with the exception of Ema). The obvious similarity to the pattern that predominates in Indonesia is that the front veranda, and by extension the whole front area between the entrance wall and the central hearth is a formal and public area, on which the male guests, including both types of affines, are seated; likewise, the private and informal area in which most women's activities, such as cooking, take place, is at the back of the dwelling. Again, this division is emphasized by the location in some areas of eastern and western Sumba of a door used by men and by women on each side (Adams 1969:29). The front and back halves are simultaneously characterized as "spiritual" and "temporal", respectively (Forth 1981:39), the former being represented by the location of the main column which is associated with the ancestral and house-protecting deity as well as a space where rituals are performed, and the latter by storage of utensils and water jars. According to Forth, the "spiritual" versus "temporal" characterizes the front and back more than the male versus female opposition.

The two sets of opposition are duplicated perpendicularly to the front-back division; however, here the male-female opposition dominates over the sacred-profane one (Forth 1981:31; however in Adams' - 1969:29-32-perception of the primary male-female division corresponds with the front and back). (Among the East Sumbanese, right and left are determined from the outside facing the interior, unlike among the Atoni - Forth 1981:38, Adams 1969:29.) This division is symbolized by hearth stones; those used by men for cooking sacrificial animals and meat for augury are at the right front while those used by women during rituals are at the left

front and in daily preparation of meals at the left back (but Liem, in his discussion of a "Sumbanese" -East or West? - dwelling indicates, without elaboration, four hearth stone sets), and by the four main columns, the two on the right side being male and on the left side female (Forth 1981:38, but in the opinion of other Forth's informants, the two columns at the back are female and at the front male, - Forth 1981:note 23 - i.e. corresponding with Adams' sexual dichotomy according to the back and front; this indicates the lack of awareness of the quadripartite pattern among both the East Sumbanese and their ethnographers).

The two perpendicularly bisected spaces of the male-female opposition thus form four spaces, and the ultimate opposition set is arranged diagonally. According to Forth (1981:39), "the most consistently domestic, and hence feminine part...is the left back corner while the right front corner is the most thoroughly religious and masculine". The term KAHILI BOKULU 'great floor' denotes the right side, but also the front section (p. 39); most typically it refers to the right front corner where the ancestral column is located. This corner is considered highest because it is directly connected by the column with the loft. This corner thus serves as "a place for communication with the ancestor who, in a sense, is present in the peak", i.e. the loft, via the column (p. 40). This URATUNGU column, besides the notion of a mast ubiquitous in eastern Indonesia, is also conceptualized as the world tree: "Its upper decoration and the carved beams spreading out from its upper region...embody metaphorically a fruitful, ritual tree standing in the midst of the ship-temple" (Adams 1974:336). This whole quarter of the dwelling is generally used in rituals directed toward ancestors, which among the East Sumbanese is an exclusively masculine activity, and political affairs are discussed there. In daily life, this area is generally unoccupied. Women generally avoid this quarter and in some areas they are explicitly prohibited from entering it (Forth 1981:38, Adams 1969:29). The left back quarter, known as KERE PANDALU 'base of the pot' (Adams 1969:32) has an entrance used by women, and as the name implies, it is used in cooking. Offering places for pigs and chickens, animals

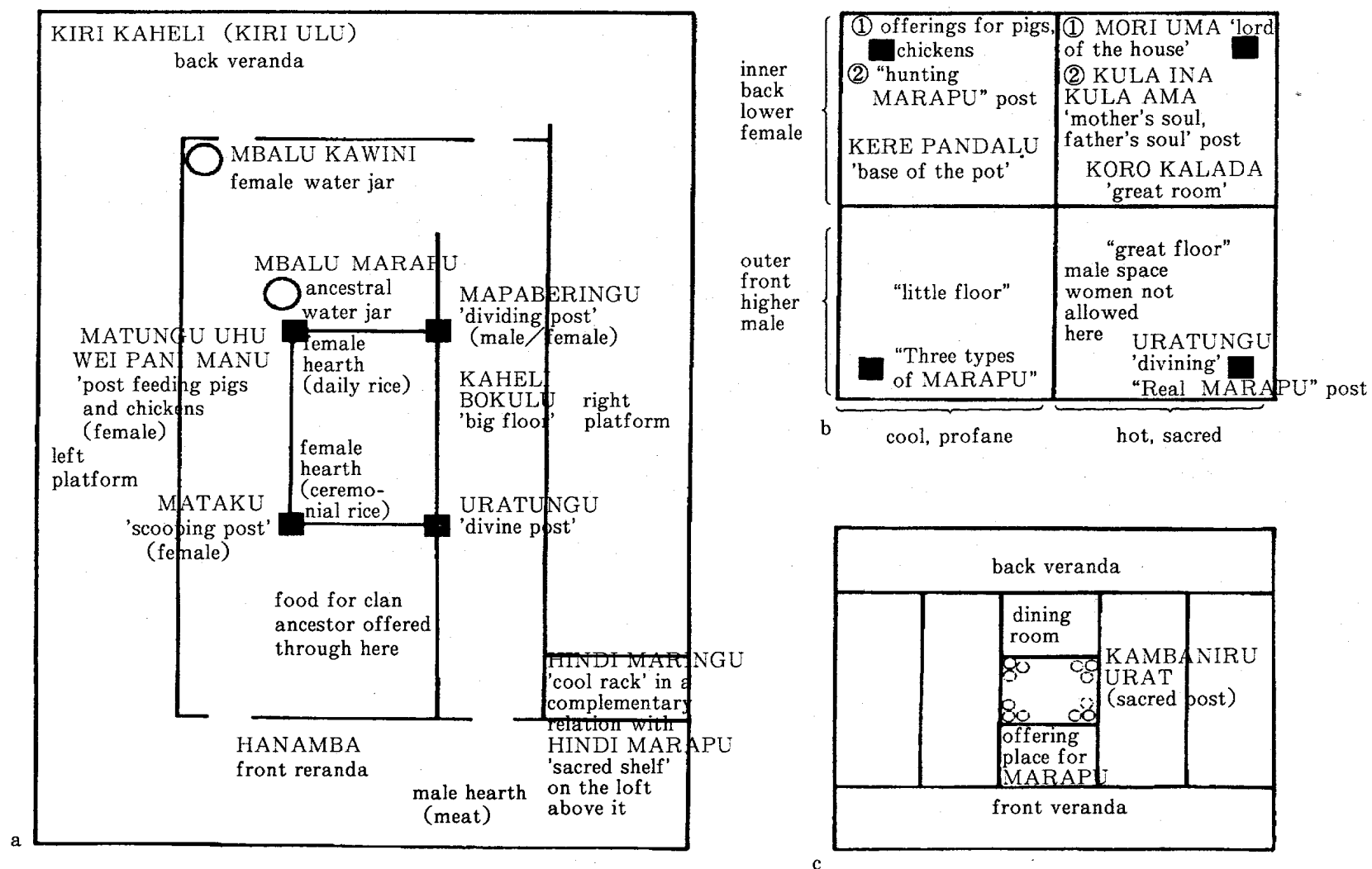


Fig. 29: East Sumbanese. (a) After Forth 1981. (b) Inferred from Adams 1969, 1974. (c) After Liem 1956

that women look after, are located there. (Adams does not explain the reason for designation of the column corresponding with this section as "hunting MARAPU"; Forth calls it "post for feeding pigs and chickens".) Two water jars are placed in this quarter, one called "female" and the other "ancestral"; this corresponds with their complementary relationship on the diagonal line, the former being placed fully in the left back corner and the latter toward the right front.

The right back and the left front quarters are therefore neutral in the male-female, hot-cool, sacred-profane, etc., senses, though their character is not identical. The right back column is designated as 'dividing' because of its symbolical role in animal sacrifices (Forth 1981:27), or 'lord of the house' or 'soul of mother and father' (Adams 1969:34), indicating that this is an abode of a house-protecting spirit characterized by both sexes. Liem (1956) considers this column to be the main sacred column of the house. The quarter corresponding to this right back corner may accommodate both men and women, but young women do not sleep there (Forth 1981:38), rather, they utilize the left back quarter for that purpose. The fact that no hearth is located on this side (in Forth's plan) and that this area may be partitioned off suggests that it is used for sleeping by the householding couple. The function of the left front quarter is evident by the designation of the column located there, i.e. 'scooping', because on ceremonial occasions women cook and serve the offering rice and pass it to the "priest" at the foot of the right column (Forth 1981:27). Thus, while the left back quarter is used by women for cooking daily meals, the left front corner, by the virtue of being in the ritually higher half of the dwelling, is used likewise by women for cooking, but not daily but ceremonial food, except for meat which is prepared by men on their own hearth at right front.

It can thus be seen that the similarity of the East Sumbanese dwelling to the Atoni, Savunese and other houses of eastern Indonesia includes the fact that men tend to be associated with the exterior and women with the interior or with the house as a whole. For example, the term MANGU UMANGU ('possessor, occupant

of the house') "while otherwise referring to all the inhabitants, or to the principal (male) householder, was thus also once said to apply specifically to the women of the house. Similarly, in an unpublished report on Umalulu district..., the phrase is given as a term for the principal householder's chief wife, and so is translated as 'mistress of the house'" (Forth 1981:note 29). Male guests are received on the outside veranda, while female guests enter the left front interior floor. At funeral ceremonies, various inversions in seating arrangement take place, including men of the house moving to the back veranda, but women remain in the interior of the house, especially in their usual left back.

On the other hand, the female area may not be equated with centrality, as is the case with the houses of the Atoni, Savunese etc. The URATUNGU column is the central world tree, and it is located in the right front quarter, an entirely masculine area. Forth (p. 40) notes that if a house falls into disrepair, it is disassembled and a shelter for reusable beams and posts is built over two rows of short piles running in the front-back direction which had previously supported the right half of the building, hence "the entire house floor is reduced to its superior male component". He correlates it with the East Sumbanese social structure:

"House is inextricably associated with the patrilineal group that owns it, that the peripheral, feminine sections can accordingly be designated as the outer parts agrees with the fact that the female inhabitants either derive from other clans or are destined to leave their natal clan on marriage. Like the spiritual and the temporal, and other values identified as male and female, male and female members of the clan can therefore be distinguished as permanent and transient."

This indicates the stress on agnatic relations in the East Sumbanese household. It may be a consequence of recent changes that have taken place along with the decrease in size of the dwelling, making it a nuclear family residence, in which no space is available to accommodate the wife-giving affines, whose presence

is essential in maintaining the wives' high status. It also contrasts with other east Indonesian households, e.g. Atoni, in which the male status is weakened by numerous cases of matrilineal and matrilocal marriages, though these are considered to be inferior to patrilineal and patrilocal ones, and, more importantly, by emphasizing affinal relations in ritual life.

The East Sumbanese dwelling has entrances on the front and back sides; Adams' plan indicates an entrance on the left side in addition to the front one. If the left side entrance is taken as a point of reference, the right or masculine side becomes the interior of the dwelling. This contrasts with the situation in dwellings of other east Indonesian ethnic groups, for example, the feminine space in the dwelling of a group of Tetum of Timor studied by Reinhardt is in the interior as seen from both the front and the lateral entrances (Fig. 30). Similarly, the dwelling of the group of Tetum studied by Hicks has three entrances, i.e. front, back and lateral, thus the front and the side are spaces used in male activities, while the interior is feminine (Hicks 1976:65). Another aspect specific to the East Sumbanese dwelling is that both types of affines are confined to the front veranda, while in other east Indonesian (and Batak) dwellings the wife-givers are symbolically conferred a preferential status by admitting them to the interior. This can be seen in the Atoni house where the wife-givers may occupy the "great platform" in the right half of the dwelling. In addition to the right side of the front veranda. In the Lionese dwelling,

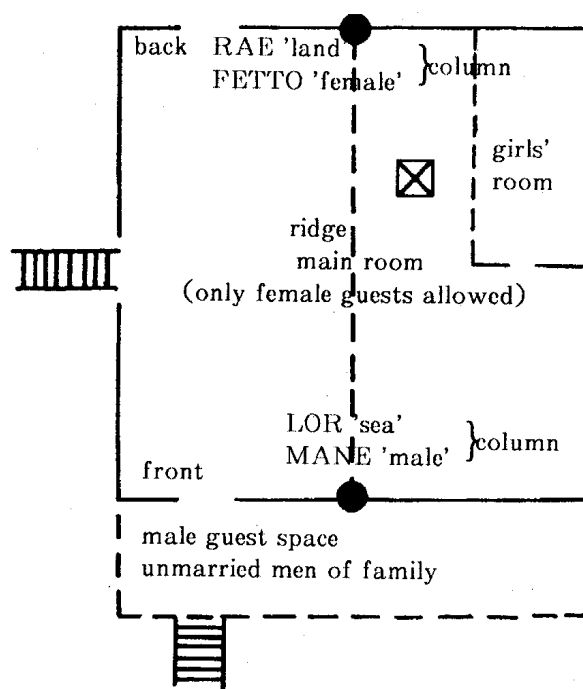


Fig. 30 Tetum (Belu) . Mainly after Reinhardt 1956; some designations added from Vroklage 1952:514

according to Yamaguchi (1983:7-8), the back side is considered to be the head and the front veranda the tail or the feet; on the settlement level the head is symbolically associated with the wife-givers and the tail with the wife-takers. Yamaguchi does not say whether this symbolism is applicable to the dwelling; it is, however, plausible. The contradiction of the wife-givers being aligned with women at the back and wife-takers with men at the front is remedied by the perpendicular tracing of the sexual dichotomy which is possibly more important in the east Indonesian quadripartite patterns, at least for certain purposes.

The Indonesian notion that connects the female element with the interior and the male with the exterior in eastern Indonesia, except partially the East Sumbanese, can be illustrated by the two Lionese communal houses found in each settlement: the female SAO RIA 'big house' and the male KADA KANGA. The SAO RIA is a large building with walls and no windows, faces the inner row of houses and usually is closed. BENGATOKO, a carved plank associated with women in the residential dwelling, is present here, and the columns are not decorated, suggesting a resemblance to the Atoni inner "mother columns" which are likewise devoid of any ornaments. On the other hand, the KADA KANGA is a small hut with no walls, facing outward, and its central column abundantly decorated by carvings (cf. the carved male column of the East Sumbanese). Its ritual importance is negligible and it is used chiefly for accommodating visitors or as young men's meeting hall. This, according to Yamaguchi (1983:4), coincides with the whole Lionese culture and society as it manifests the "supremacy of the female element".

There are indications that women are spatially associated with centrality and interiority in the dwellings of other east Indonesian peoples, e.g. Tanimbarese (Barraud 1979:57-59), Buru Islanders (Nguyen 1934:112), Galela of Halmahera (Ishige 1980); however, lack of details forbids its exploration.

## BATAK

In Tobing's (1956:139) view, the Toba Batak house vertically represents the three planes of the universe, which is indicated by various symbols, including painted carvings of a tree on a wall of the dwelling. The tree conveys the same idea as the banyan tree in the center of the settlement. The dwelling represents a tree horizontally as well. The horizontal space is arranged according to the quadripartite principle, upon which the notion of the tree with its opposite components of the roots and the top is established, thus it consists of one root and one top corner arranged diagonally, and two root/top corners (Fig. 31), coinciding with the A, B and duplicated A/B quarters as a model for the quadripartite horizontal space.

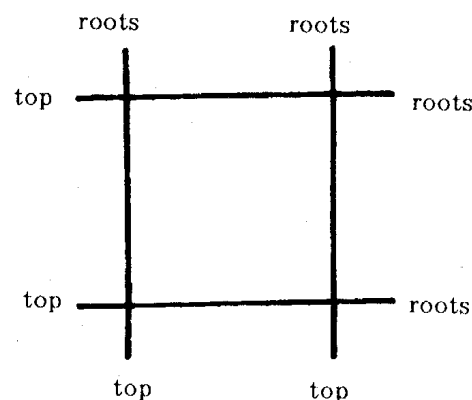


Fig. 31: Toba Batak. After  
Domenig 1980:152

The most honorable section of the Toba Batak dwelling (Fig. 32) is the root corner, i.e. JABU BONA (as called by most writers; Yoshida calls it JABU BONA HALANGULU). It is occupied by the household head, his wife and small children. On ceremonial occasions the household head and the men of his lineage are seated here, the household head occupying the seat of honor, which is the seat at the wall farthest from the entrance. At wedding, the bridegroom and bride sit there, surrounded by the bridegroom's agnates. Household treasures, including the ULOS cloth, is kept here (Takahashi and Kamiya 1982:89). De Boer calls this room "sacred" (Nguyen 1934:64). The second most prestigious space in the Toba Batak house is the diagonally opposite JABU SODING HALANGULU which may be occupied by the oldest son and his family (de Boer in Nguyen 1934:64), but during ceremonies it becomes the seat of the highest guest (Yoshida 1973:213), probably a representative of the wife-givers. On such occasions as the wedding, the male wife-



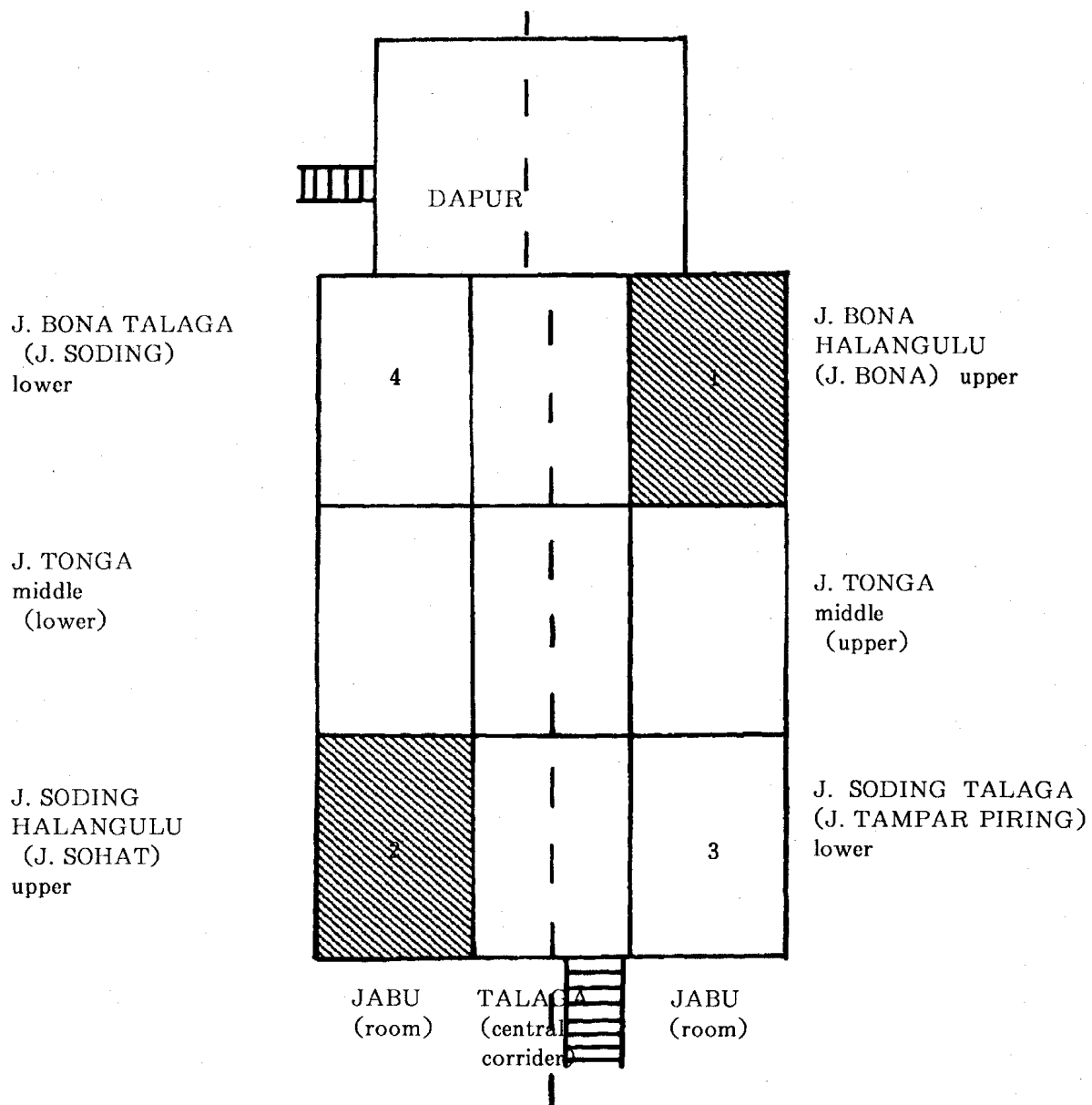


Fig.32 : Toba Batak. After Yoshida 1973:211, Nguyen 1934:64 (following de Boer 1920). The designation of rooms is Yoshida's (top) and de Boer's (bottom). Further in the text, Yoshida's terms are used exclusively.

J = JABU 'room', 'family space'; also used to demote 'nuclear family'. Numbers signify the spatial hierarchy (Takahashi and Kamiya 1982:91).

givers occupy this space (Takahashi and Kamiya 1982:91). The two less important rooms are the JABU SODING TALAGA, a multipurpose space, often used to accommodate the wife-takers as its alternative designations (TAMPAR/TANGKAP PIRING) connote (the wife-takers come with plates to this space to receive gifts during the wedding, funeral, etc. - Takahashi and Kamiya 1982:90), and the JABU BONA TALAGA, occupied by the women of the household and their female guests (de Boer places the household head's married daughter who does not yet have her own house into this space; this must be only a temporary situation as this space is not typically identified with the wife-takers). The function of both middle spaces referred to as JABU TONGA is vague and it may be occupied by anyone. Its insignificance led Yoshida (1973:213) to suggest that the two transverse lines may be reduced to a single axis; hence, the space should be seen as essentially quadripartite. Schematically, it may be seen in the form of Fig. 33. The spatial hierarchy, as applied on its occupants, follows the order of 1. agnates (back HALANGULU), 2. wife-givers (front HALANGULU), 3. wife-takers (front TALAGA), 4. women (back TALAGA). It differs from the

east Indonesian pattern by the facts that 1. each component of the quadripartite space is an independent unit -- rather than a result of bisected dualities; 2. the two seats-of-honor are in a diagonal relationship instead of a single seat-of-honor for both the

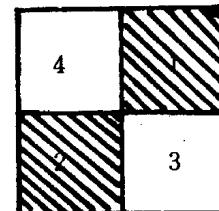


Fig. 33

agnates and the wife-givers; 3. access to the interior of the dwelling is denied to the wife-givers; 4. the women's space at the back is of a low status, despite the fact that the ULOS, the matrilineally transmitted cloth (Moyer 1977:468) and an important symbol in affinal relations, may be kept there (Yoshida 1973:214; besides the JABU BONA HALANGULU or the attic where grain is kept). On the other hand, an important feature corresponds with eastern Indonesia, i.e. the extended household includes affines, and among

the Toba Batak they are not only present on ceremonial occasions but actually residing on a full-time basis (Tobing 1956:138-139). (This feature is related to the composition of the whole hamlet, which may include a majority of a single lineage; single-lineage hamlets have not been documented and it is doubtful they have ever existed in the past.)

The dwelling of the Karo Batak, as described by Singarimbun (1975) is similar to that of the Toba, ideally accommodating agnatically related families and families representing the two lineages of the connubium (p. 63), and it also contains two superior diagonally opposite spaces. However, in contrast with the Toba, the BENA (KAYU) 'root of a tree' is located at a front corner of the dwelling and the UJUNG (KAYU) 'top of a tree' at a back corner. Like among the Toba, the BENA KAYU is superior to the UJUNG KAYU (roots are stronger and more permanent than the flexible top of a tree; it requires strength that only the PENGULU RUMAH, i.e. the agnates, possess to endure the afternoon heat as it faces the western direction, hot=evil; the "top" side is cool=good as it faces east; wife-givers ideally occupy that side - p. 62). The actual situation is, however, generally different from the ideal one, and the room allotment in one Karo Batak dwelling (p. 63, 64) (A=Agnates, WG=Wife-givers, WT=Wife-takers, E=East, W=West) indicates that the wife-takers are on the treetop (unless this particular house is oriented with its roots southwest and top northeast); another house (p. 65, 66) indicates a senior agnatic family in the root section, junior in the top section, wife-takers in the two inferior corners and wife-givers absent.

The ideally diagonal relationship between the agnates and wife-givers can be seen in non-residential community buildings on ritual occasions, as there are no physical hindrances in space choice (Fig. 36). (It also indicates the diagonal relationship between the female wife-taking lineage members and female

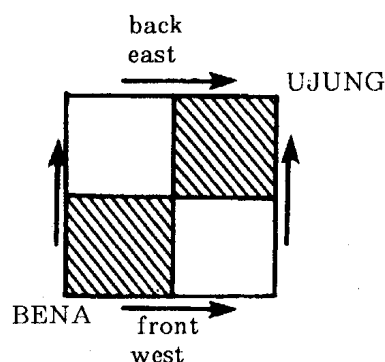

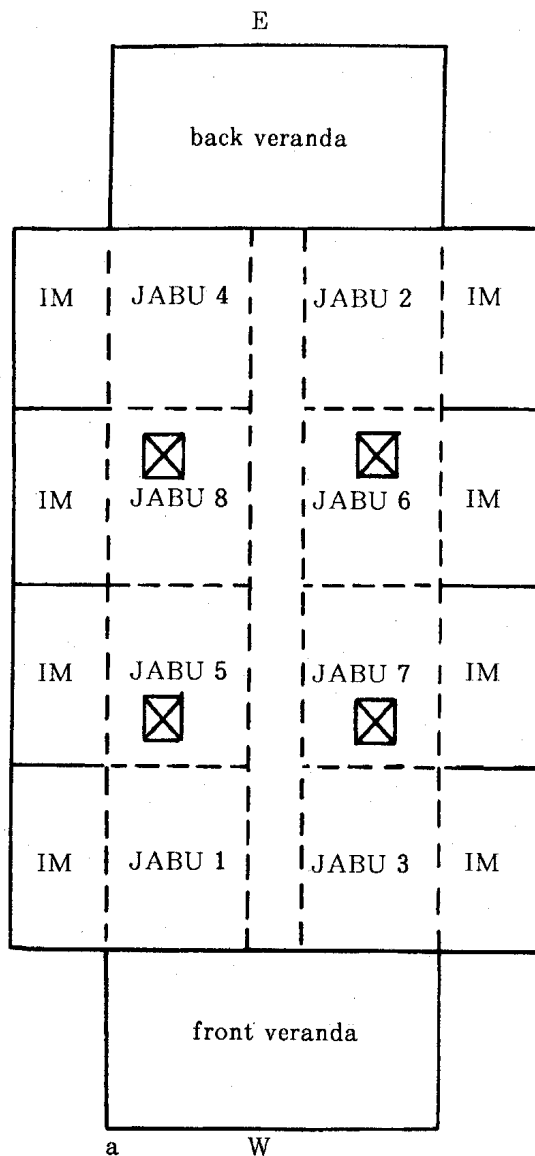


Fig. 34

wife-giving lineage members, which is an aspect that would be worth studying further. Male wife-takers are absent because their duty is to cook and serve.) Such a seating arrangement is close to the Batak ideal spatial model of . This diagonal relationship of the agnates with their wife-givers makes it clear that the agnates do not enter the same category as the wife-givers on the basis that both are masculine, as opposed to the feminine wife-takers; on the contrary, it is probable that the primary opposition is one of agnates versus affines. A problem arises when one speaks of superiority and inferiority; on the one hand, the wife-givers are superior to their wife-takers, strengthening the latter's TUAH/



IM: INGAN MEDEM 'sleeping place'

DAPOR: hearth, kitchen

JABU: 1. 'apartment', 2. 'domestic family or household', 3. 'nuclear faamily'

direction of laying beams in house construction (on two sides from BENA KAYU to UJUNG KAYU)

JABU 1 BENA KAYU 'base of tree'

3 LEPAR BENA KAYU

5 SEDAPUREN BENA KAYU

7 SEDAPUREN LEPAR BENA KAYU

8 SEDAPUREN LEPAR UJUNG KAYU

6 SEDAPUREN UJUNG KAYU

4 LEPAR UJUNG KAYU

2 UJUNG KAYU 'top of tree'

(LEPAR: 'opposite of'; SEDAPUREN: 'sharing hearth with')

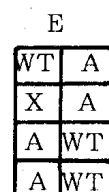
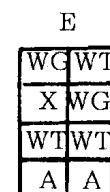


Fig. 35 : Karo Batak. After Singarimbun 1975:58, 63-66

TONDI (Karo/Toba 'soul', 'metaphysical power') and called DI-BATA NI IDAH (Karo 'visible gods'); on the other hand, the agnates, being the "ruling lineage" of the house and the hamlet, are superior to both types of affines when treated as a single category. According to Levi-Strauss, this "contradiction" is spatially reflected in the fact that the ruling lineage inhabits a superior but unfavorable (hot) area and the wife-givers an inferior but favorable (cool) one (1984:196-197). The superior

and inferior categories are very relative ones, and it would be possible to argue that while the agnatic lineage is more permanent and stable (roots, i.e. the front corner), the wife-giving lineage that metaphysically influences their wife-takers is like the top of a tree above and sheltering the latter, which correlates with the wife-givers' role as semi-divine guardians of their wife-takers. On the other hand, coolness and heat are absolute categories; however, the wife-givers are not the sole occupiers of the eastern side of the dwelling but share it with the wife-takers, thus the wife-takers would have to be included in the "cool" category.

Although the Toba Batak society is characterized by the same tripartite connubial relations, literature indicates that unlike the Karo, the residential unit tends to consist of only two categories, the agnatic family, often extended, and their wife-takers. According to Tobing (1956:138-139), "it is a custom to have one married daughter and her husband and children in the house. When the head of a family has no married daughter he will either invite one of the married daughters of one of his brothers or a married boru-member of the village". Likewise, Bruner (1974:8) describes a ceremony held inside the dwelling, in which the

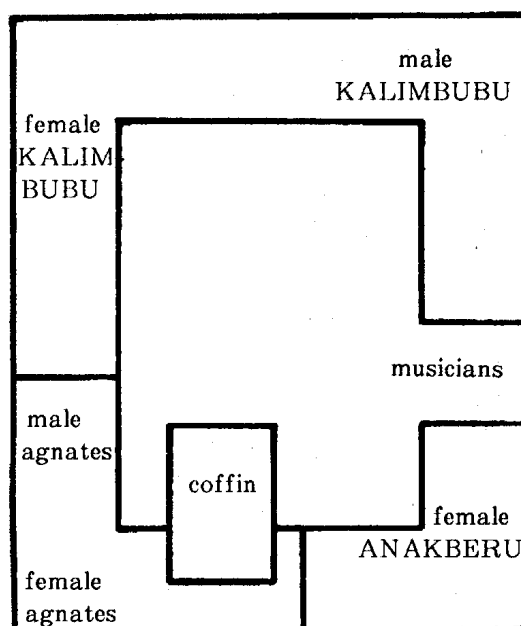


Fig. 36 : Karo Batak. After Kipp  
1979:74

household agnates are identified as the wife-givers who occupy the interior of the dwelling while the wife-takers are near the door (Fig. 37). Yoshida (1973:217) also notes a resident son-in-law in the dwelling, sitting in the spatially inferior, female area at the entrance. Thus the Toba Batak dwelling seems to emphasize agnatic relations more than that of the Karo Batak, and indicates a sexual dichotomy in which the male wife-takers are included in the female category. This is especially evident in the space

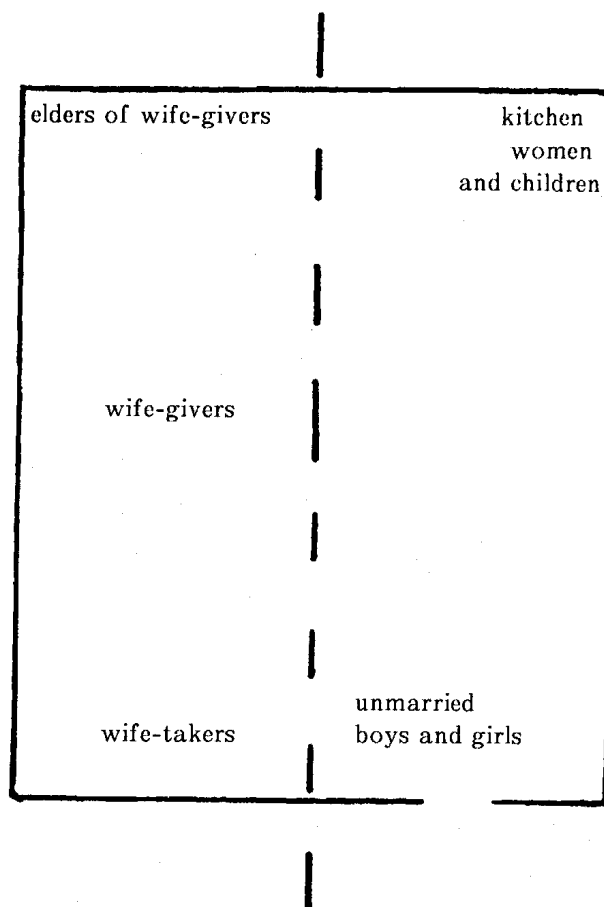


Fig. 37: Toba Batak. After Bruner 1974:9

use in modern (non-traditional) Toba Batak dwelling and the kitchens attached to them. The Toba Batak dwelling, both the RUMAH ADAT and the modern type, reveals a higher level of integration of nuclear families in them than in that of the Karo, the former having one kitchen in the back of the dwelling while in the latter pairs of neighboring households cook in separate hearths. It may be reasonable to suggest that the Toba dwelling represents a transition from an agnatic-affinal residential group to an agnatic one and eventually a nuclear-family unit.

The non-traditional Toba Batak dwelling is considerably smaller than the RUMAH ADAT, thus it cannot physically admit both types of affines as permanent co-residents. The new partitioning introduces the bedroom, the storage room and the veranda, but in the main room the traditional distribution of space, with two superior, two inferior and two neutral seats, persists on a smaller scale. However, there is also a tendency, probably due to the

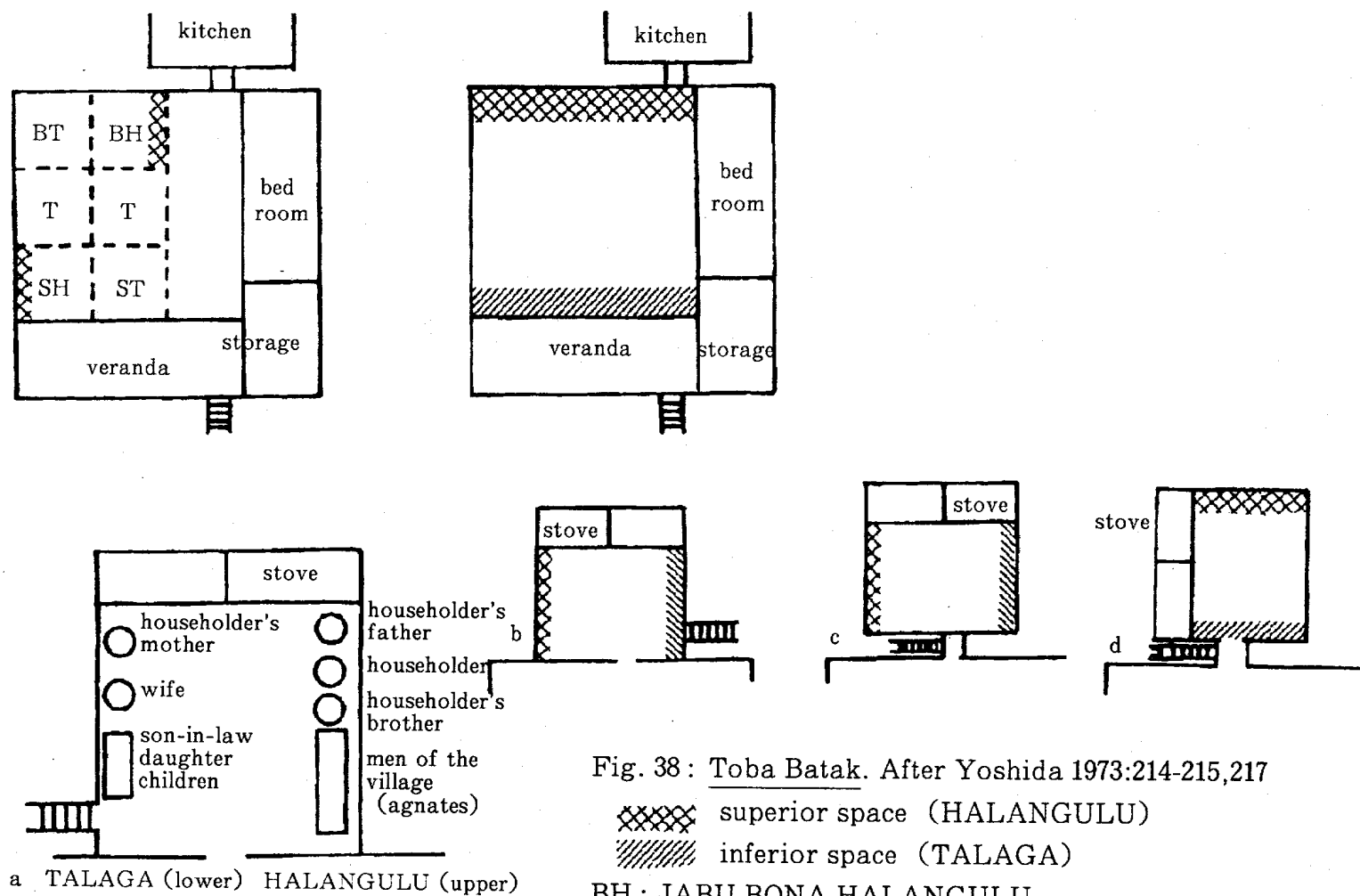


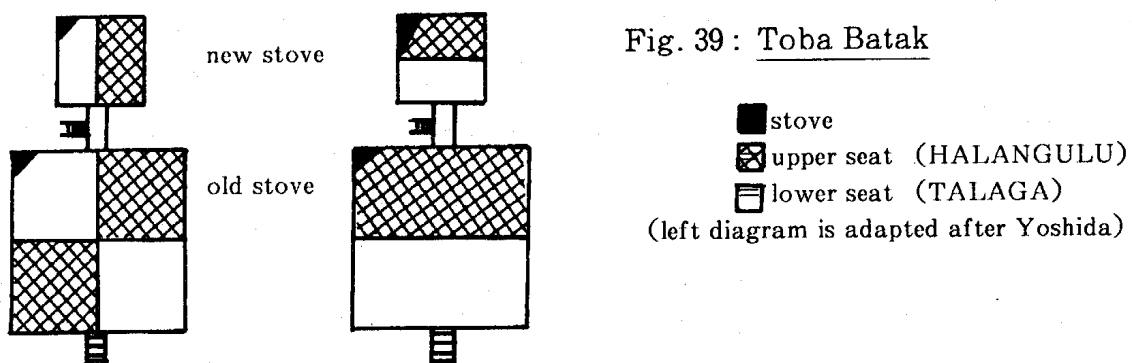
Fig. 38: Toba Batak. After Yoshida 1973:214-215,217

decrease in living space as well as hypothetically to the demise of the requirement of a wife-giving family's co-residence which had demanded a separate seat-of-honor, to reduce the two superior areas into one and the two inferior ones into another one, on a lineal, not diagonal basis. It is the axis that corresponds with the transverse one of the RUMAH ADAT that is used to determine the division, ascribing inferiority to the entrance half and superiority to the back side, and the longitudinal axis that forms the quadripartite division virtually disappears. Rather than separating agnates and types of affines, this axis stresses the sexual dichotomy, allotting the superior interior to men and the inferior front to women (and sons-in-law), in line with the patrilineal principle that the predominantly agnatic household emphasizes.


The position of the entrance to the kitchen, an annex of a separate construction, led Yoshida (1973:217-218) to suggest that the door is the principal determinant of arrangement of space both in the main house and in the kitchen, where the seating arrangement at meals reflects the division of space in the former. Fig. 38 indicates four variations of space arrangement based on the position of entrance to the kitchen of the Toba Batak house. (a) is the most common arrangement, in which the women's entrance is on the left side of the main entrance from the house. The highest seat is the one farthest from the women's ladder and is occupied by the household head's father, while the lowest seat is the one taken by a family of the wife-taking lineage. (b), (c) and (d) indicate how the value of the space changes if the entrance position shifts from one side to another. Referring to (d), Yoshida thinks that in this case it is the stove rather than the entrance that determines its spatial arrangements. His suggestion of the entrance being a determinant may be valid here, too: not one, but two sides are furnished with an entrance (but not a "back entrance"), which thus form two bisected "front" halves in the quadripartite kitchen, and the seat-of-honor for the household head's father is located the farthest away from both entrances, i.e. in the only quarter which is fully back. (a) shows that the



ranking order of the household members at meal is perpendicular to the main (sexual dichotomy) axis (in the direction from the rear toward the front: household head's father, household head's mother; next, household head, housewife, etc., until the household head's distant agnates on one side and wife-takers on the other). Thus it appears possible that an effort to conform the layout in the kitchen to that in the main dwelling stimulated an axial shift in the case (d). Early house plans of the RUMAH ADAT show that originally the kitchen was not a separate structure but rather was located in the back section of the building; Yoshida suggests that since the back of the building is occupied by the household head and serves as a seat-of-honor, the kitchen relocated further back to a separate structure. (Obviously, there are other factors that influenced the separation of the kitchen from the main dwelling as well, the foremost among which is the hygiene campaign implemented throughout the Indonesian archipelago, which was initiated by the Dutch administration and has been continued under the Indonesian government.) Schematically, the use of space in the relocated kitchen can be derived from that in the main dwelling as follows:



Yoshida suggests that the Toba Batak dwelling is currently undergoing the process of transformation; he cites the separation of the kitchen from the main dwelling as an indication of it. He further applies his diachronic view to the presence of the two diagonally opposite seats-of-honor, proposing that they represent two different strata (p. 219). Indeed, from the contemporary perspective, there is no necessity for such an arrangement. Likewise, there is no necessity for the large floor area of the

RUMAH ADAT, which appears to have been a superfluous luxury even in the time of de Boer when one out of six rooms belonged to "guests", one to temporarily residing wife-takers, and two to the "household head's widowed sisters"; Yoshida's (1973: 213-214) RUMAH ADAT similarly contains only one permanently occupied room (JABU BONA HALANGULU), while another room (JABU BONA TALAGA) is used by the household's women and their guests but usually remains vacant, and the remaining four rooms are always vacant or used as guest rooms. Yoshida thus appears to be essentially correct in characterizing the dwelling as one that has undergone a change in space use. His suggestion of the two seats-of-honor (HALANGULU) representing two different strata should however be corrected: they are rather a reflection of a now-defunct tripartite residential organization, and at present only the agnatic "root of a tree" part preserves its original purpose. The Karo dwelling appears to reflect more closely the original pattern of the quadripartite spatial arrangement (  ) in which the two superior areas represent the household lineage family and a family belonging to their wife-giving lineage. The original Batak dwelling was probably never an exclusively agnatically extended household (though the ethnographic literature is full of claims to the contrary; this is probably due to the fact that the term RUMAH also refers to a segment of a MARGA clan); the failure of supersession of vacant parts of the dwelling by agnatic families and the resulting emptiness in the Toba Batak house may to an extent indicate it. (The notion of roof=west=agnates in the Toba Batak house corresponds with the Karo Batak house; I am unable to find any reason for the back-front inversion that the two dwellings exhibit.)

In the Batak culture, "affinal principles are of equal if not greater importance" than the descent principle (Kipp 1979:66), and the house reflects this fact. It is thus essentially different from the Minangkabau large dwelling which accommodates matrifocal families that belong to a single matrilineage, headed by the senior mother in internal matters and her brother in external; the Batak dwelling on the other hand reserves one seat-of-honor for the

head of the household lineage and the other, of a generally equal status, for a representative of the mother's brother. The medium between these two diagonally opposite points of status in the Batak house is the housewife. In this connection, Josselin de Jong's (1951) warning that the Minangkabau and Batak societies are not symmetrical oppositions of each other, hence the former cannot be considered as "a matrilineal island in the midst of surrounding patrilineally organized societies" assumes relevance, which is underlied by the fact that the choice of matrilineal or patrilineal descent does not lead to any major difference in the status of women. As Loeb (1972: 71-72) noted, "the Bataks and the people of Minangkabau are neighbors sharing the same civilization and economic conditions. Hence whatever difference there may be in the legal status of the women of the two groups, their actual position in the everyday activities is very much the same". Whatever indications of matrilineal principles exist among the Batak (cf. Niessen 1983, Moyer 1977), they are not strong enough to ensure the housewife's high status; rather, it is the affinal relation, in which the housewife ties the affinal groups, that secure her prestige. The case of the Toba Batak dwelling shows that with the demise of the tripartite residential requirement, the housewife's spatial position tends to become inferior, which is evident in the sexual dichotomy where the men occupy the superior seat in the interior and women the low seat at the entrance.

#### 2.2.4 QUADRIPARTITE PATTERNS OF DWELLING SPACE USE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

##### CELEBES

The dwellings of ethnic groups of Celebes generally conform to the pattern prevalent in Indonesia with a front and a back section; a characteristic feature in Celebes, however, is the

middle partitioned space between them (Fig. 40 a,b). The Toraja dwelling consists of three main rooms, i.e. the front room TANGDO which is actually a veranda facing the village plaza, the middle room SALLI, and the SUMBUNG at the rear of the dwelling. The TANGDO is the most public area with guests being received there, and it is considered "front" because of the spiritual entrance (BA'BA DEATA 'door of the gods' - Nooy-Palm 1979:237) on that side. The ordinary entrance leads directly to the central living room SALLI. The right part of this middle room is the kitchen DAP0'; consequently, that side of the room is the "woman's domain" (Nooy-Palm 1979:237). The ritually important parts of this room are the western side at the entrance where corpses are displayed, and especially the area near the main column A'RIRI POSI which stands between the middle room and the back room. In other Celebes types of houses, however, the middle room is less public, as the entrance ladder leads to the front veranda (e.g. the DASERI of the Makassarese house), and the middle room assumes a more private character, such as among the Makassarese whose PA'DASERANG RITANGNGA (PA'DASERANG 'space attached to hallway' RITANGNGA 'middle') serves as a compartment for the household head and the housewife, into which no adult man other than the household head is allowed to enter (Sakuma 1984:38).

The main column(s) associated with the household's guardian deity is (are) situated in this room. The Toraja A'RIRI POSI 'navel column' is conceived to be in the middle, but in fact it is on the rear side of the dwelling, thus spatially confirming the preeminence of the back part. Yuswadi (1979:44) and Nooy-Palm (1979:241) relate the concept of axis mundi to this column. A similar column (POSI' BOLA 'navel of the house') is found in the Buginese house where it also stands toward the interior of the house, and in the Loinang dwelling (USOI), under which the seat of the guest of honor is located. The Makassarese house has two such columns, i.e. the BENTENG TANGNGA BAINÉ 'female middle column' toward the back of the middle room and the BENTENG TANGNGA BURA'NE 'male middle column' toward the front.

The main column of the Toraja house stands at the entrance to

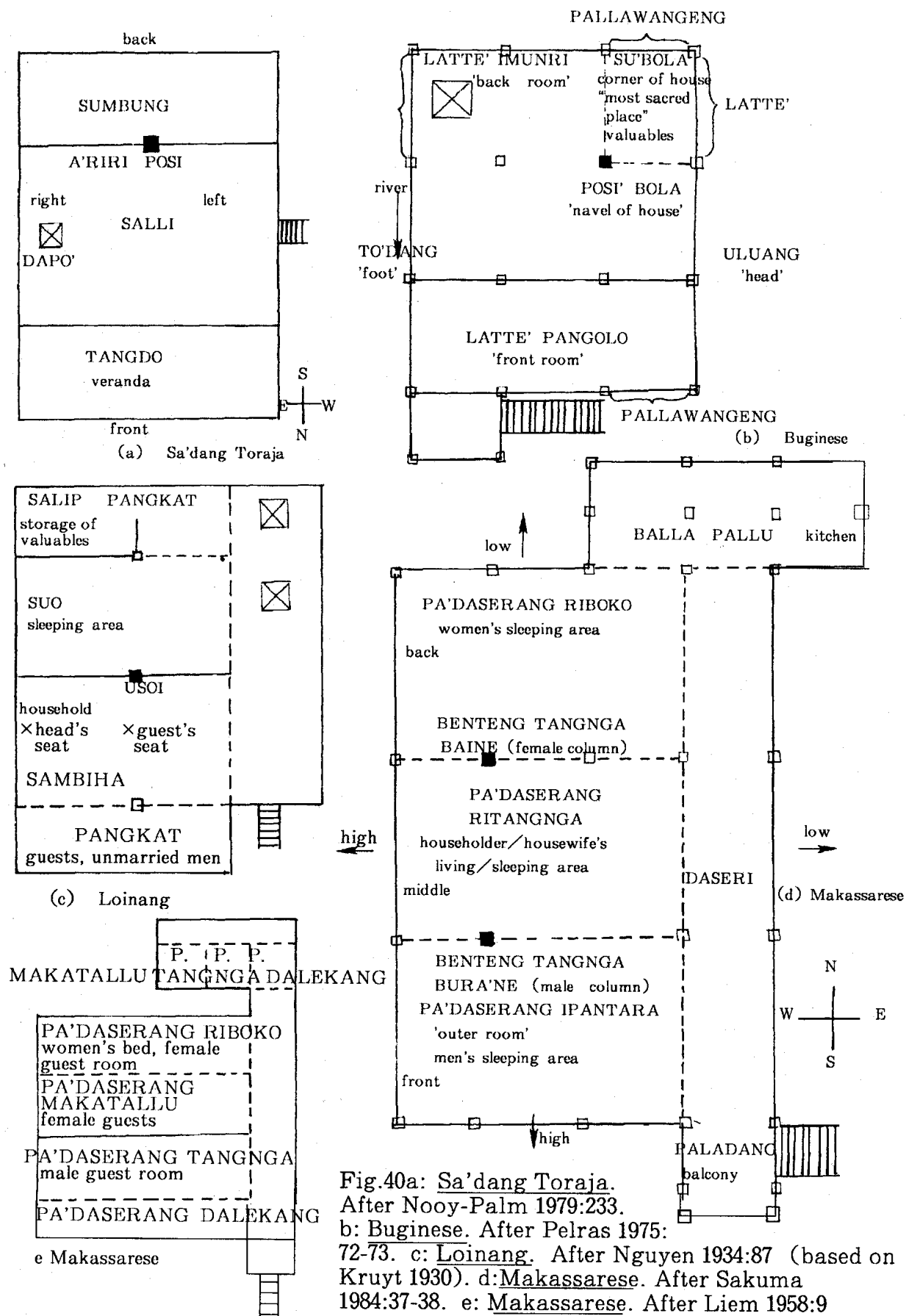


Fig.40a: Sa'dang Toraja.

After Nooy-Palm 1979:233.

b: Buginese. After Pelras 1975:

72-73. c: Loinang. After Nguyen 1934:87 (based on

Kruyt 1930). d: Makassarese. After Sakuma

1984:37-38. e: Makassarese. After Liem 1958:9

the back room SUMBUNG, which is the bedroom of the husband and wife. The column, however, is more feminine than masculine, because it is associated with the "female symbol of the family" (ANAK DARA 'sister', 'virgin') whose effigy is attached to it (Nooy-Palm 1979:241; Volkman 1985:56). The column and the effigy are prominent in a ritual that involves a "high-status woman" offering food and drink to the ANAK DARA, "virtually living together" with it (Volkman 1985:56). Accordingly, the SUMBUNG appears to be associated more with the housewife than with her husband; e.g. during the marriage ceremony, the bride and her family occupy the SUMBUNG, while the bridegroom and his family take their seat on the front veranda (TANGDO) (Nooy-Palm 1979:238). Volkman (1985:47) describes the SUMBUNG as a "sacred space" called the "root of the house" as all the horizontal timbers of the dwelling are oriented with their root ends toward the SUMBUNG. The household treasures that include heirloom cloths and swords are kept in the SUMBUNG (Volkman 1985:47), in the attic above it (Yuswadi 1979:37), or in the DAPO' on the eastern side of the SALLI (Nooy-Palm 1979:237); in any case they are kept in a space under the housewife's control.

Similarly, the precious objects of the Buginese household are stored in the rear room SU'BOLA. Ordinarily unmarried girls sleep there; after receiving the house, the household head and his wife sleep there. This room is a part of the LATTE' IMUNRI (MUNRI 'back'), which also includes the hearth and the storage of water jars. The front room LATTE' PANGOLO (OLO 'front'), in contrast to the rear room, is completely public, and is the only space visitors may enter. The Loinang dwelling shows the same pattern; i.e., the valuables are stored in the back room (SALIPI) in the opposite corner from the hearth, while the front veranda (PANGKAT) is used as a seat for guests and unmarried men. The male/female division is especially explicit in the Makassarese house in which the PA'DASERANG RIBOKO 'inner room' is recognized as the female space and the PA'DASERANG IPANTARA 'outer room' as the male space (Sakuma 1984:38; Liem 1958:9). This division corresponds to the two central columns which are also defined according to the male/female distinction in the Makassarese house, but not in the houses

of other Celebes ethnic groups with only one main column, i.e. the "navel column" of the Toraja and Buginese dwellings. In the Makassarese house, both columns are important, but there are indications that more attention is paid to the male column (Sakuma 1984:40), which may partially be a result of an influence from Islam.

The transverse division into the back (private, female), middle, and front (public, male) is apparent in the Toraja, Makassarese and partly Buginese house. According to Sakuma (1984:41), these three spaces in the dwelling correspond to the three worlds of the Makassarese and Buginese world view as expressed in their myths: the upperworld is inhabited by male gods, the under-(water) world by female gods, and the marriage of these gods takes place in the middle room. The division into the three worlds is indicated by the two main columns. This notion may to a degree correspond with the Sa'dang Toraja's ancestral altar placed behind the house and the divine altar in front of the house, in addition to the divine entrance leading to the front room.

However, the Toraja exterior altars are not directly behind and in front of the house; rather, the ancestral altar is beyond the southwestern corner and the divine one at the diagonally opposite northeastern corner. This corresponds to Sakuma's longitudinal tripartite division of the Makassarese house which carries the same symbolism of the universe as the transverse one. (Sexual symbolism, however, is in this case irrelevant.) The two longitudinal walls represent the lower and upper sides. The lower side (Sakuma's "under-/water/ world") consisting of the entrance (northeastern corner), hallway (DASERI) and kitchen (BALLA' PALLU) which simultaneously functions as the storage of water and toilet (northwestern corner). It has an analogous function in the Buginese and Loinang houses. The back door attached to this kitchen/toilet is referred to as "anus" by the Makassarese and Buginese (Sakuma 1984:41, Errington 1979:13). The upper side of the Makassarese dwelling (Sakuma's "upper world") is located beyond the two principal columns, and includes the seat-of-honor of the household head or a guest if the latter's status is higher than the

former's in the southwestern corner. Sakuma does not specify the location of storage of valuables; it is probably in the northwestern corner where it would correspond to the similar area in the Buginese and Loinang houses (SU'BOLA, SALAPI, respectively). Overlapping of the two high halves and two low ones in the Makassarese dwelling thus leads to a diagonal opposition of high and low which corresponds spatially with the location of the divine and ancestral altars outside the Toraja dwelling. As mentioned above, this longitudinal division is not equivalent to the transverse one as it lacks the sexual symbolism, but expresses spatial value more strongly. The "lower" and "higher" sides of the Makassarese house correspond with the "foot" (TO'DANG, river side) and "head" (ULUANG, mountain side), respectively, of the Buginese house (Pelras 1975:72-73), and the sleeping position with the heads of all the occupants on the "upper"/"head" side, which may coincide with the eastern or southern, but not western direction, conforms to it.

There are some indications that the two perpendicular transitional spaces (i.e., in the Buginese terminology PALLAWANGENG 'longitudinal division', TENNGA 'middle' and LATTE 'transverse division') are superfluous. Sakuma (1984:42) describes an alternative Makassarese house (BALLA SAPPE) which is constructed according to the two perpendicular axes, creating two perpendicular backs and two fronts, two perpendicular lower areas and two higher areas, and transversely one female and one male half. According to Sakuma, this dwelling is intended for a couple that "no longer desires to give birth to a child", hence there is no necessity for a neutral area, a meeting place of the female and male element. No neutral area in the center but rather a central wall that coincide with the transverse axis characterizes the Loinang house as well as the Makassarese "supreme ruler's" dwelling (Fig. 40 e); however, the latter's kitchen annex again reveals the tripartite division, indicating that such an arrangement is perhaps predominant in southern Celebes.



## NIAS

There have been suggestions that the oval-shaped dwelling of northern Nias is more archaic than the rectangular structures of the central and southern parts of the island, because of certain

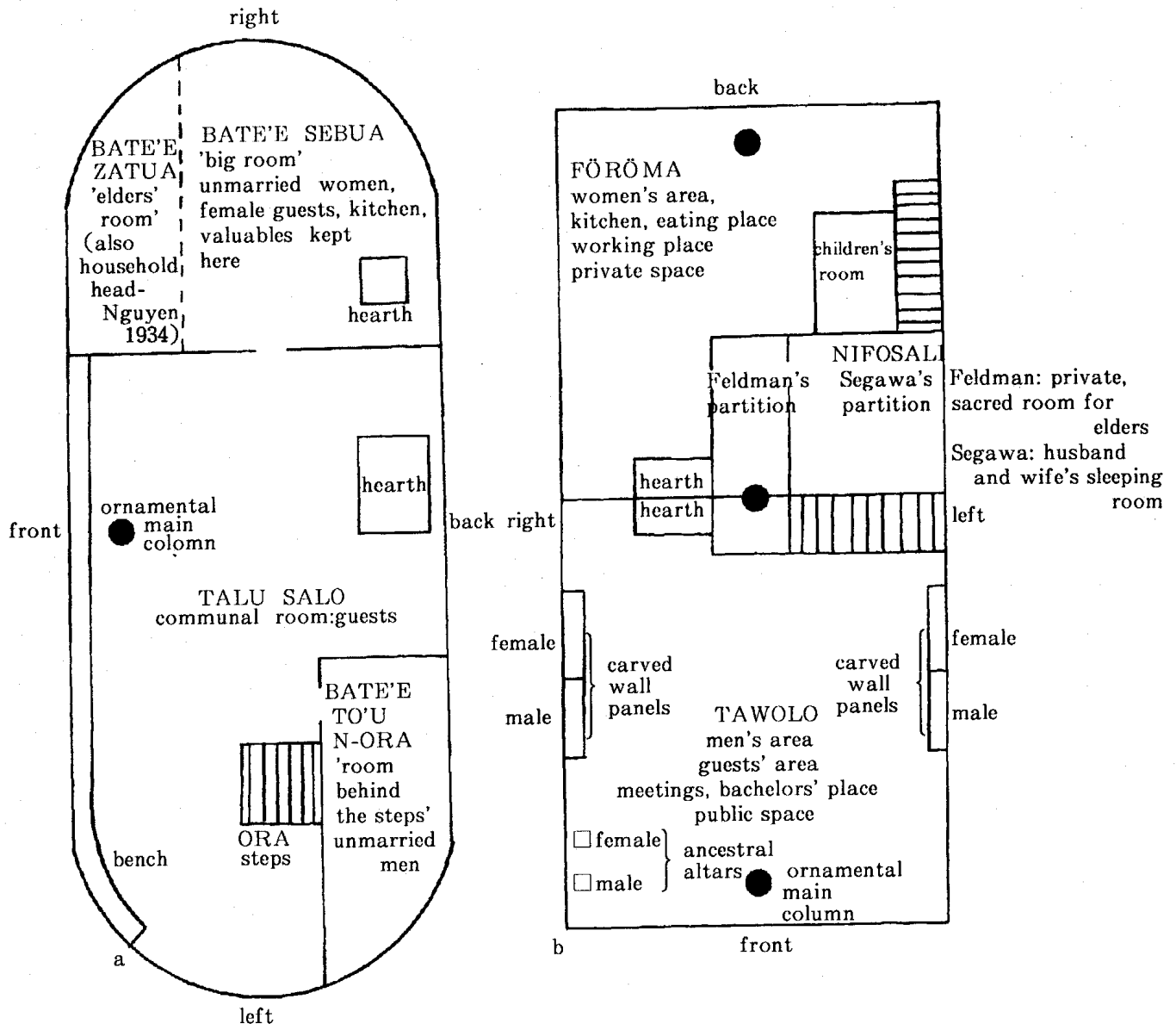


Fig. 41 (a) : northern Nias. After Feldman 1977:73-76; Nguyen 1934:156 (based on van Rosenberg 1878) ; (b) : southern Nias. After Segawa 1976:54, Feldman 1979:162, Nguyen 1934:154 (based on de Boer 1920) (Segawa's and Feldman's plans of OMO SEBUA in Bawomataluo slightly differ.)

parallels with the Nicobar Islands, Enggano and miscellaneous areas of eastern Indonesia where similar structures are found. In central and southern Nias, houses are arranged in rows and in some localities they are attached to each other with their verandas connected, thus forming "longhouses" not unlike those of the Iban, except for their alignment along streets. Fig. 41 that indicates the internal division of space in the dwellings of northern and southern Nias reveals a correspondent pattern. In both types of dwellings, the two perpendicular axes that function as boundaries are clearly recognizable, but the transverse one is more important in the division of space according to the sexes, and is formed by an actual partition. The difference in the designation of the bisected halves of the dwelling (back, front, right, left) between northern and southern Nias does not affect their function, i.e. the left side of the north Niasan dwelling corresponds to the front of the south Niasan one, etc. For the purpose of a comparative discussion of the two related patterns, it will be necessary to employ common designation of spatial components in this section, thus the northern "right" and the southern "back" will be designated as 1-2 and the opposite side as 3-4 (Fig. 42).

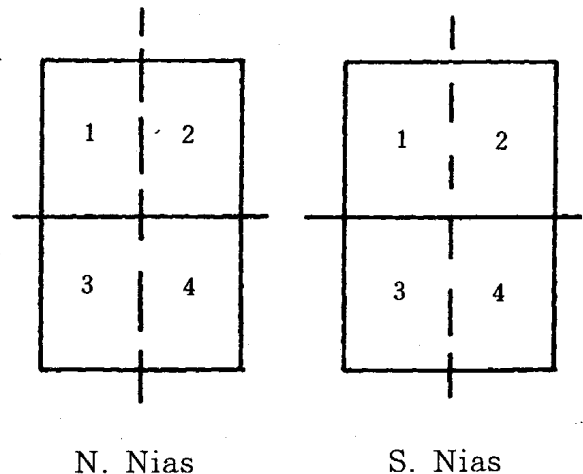


Fig. 42

The major section of floor space is occupied by the BATE'E

SEBUA room with a cooking hearth in space 2, and its function is a kitchen and a sleeping and working area for the women of the household and their female visitors. Valuables are kept in this room. A portion of space 1 may be partitioned, forming the BATE'E ZATUA for the elders as well as (van Rosenberg 1878 in Nguyen 1934:156) the householding couple. The corresponding space in the south Niasan house (NIFOSALI) is identified as the husband and wife's sleeping place (Segawa 1976:53); it includes a "sacred" room for the elders (Feldman 1979:140), an a "treasure room" where women

stay during ceremonies (de Boer 1920 in Nguyen 1934:155). The last point probably denotes an observation place for women when ceremonies are held in the TAWOLO (3-4), in a way analogous to Java and Borneo where the women observe from a point in or near the interior section of the house. It is significant in this connection that in the chief's house (OMO SEBUA) in Bawomataluo (south Nias), and possibly elsewhere, this feminine ceremonial observation point has the form of a miniature house (MALIGE), which serves as a room for aristocratic women from which they watch feasts (cf. photograph in Feldman 1979; Feldman mentions that the same structure exists also in the dwelling of the Abung of southern Sumatra; a miniature model of a house is also present in the Karo Batak house, but there its function is vague - Singarimbun 1975:56). It most likely indicates the exterior character of men's ceremonies, though they are held inside the dwelling, and women's association with the interior is symbolized by the miniature dwelling. Segawa (1976:54) designates the space 1-2 of the south Niasan dwelling as "women's room", and besides the typically feminine activities it is associated with the accommodation of the elders and the household chief but no other male members of the household, and it is used for storage of valuable possessions as well. Little or no conspicuous ritual activity takes place there. Segawa, but not Feldman and de Boer, notes a ladder for women at the back of the house. The room 3-4 (TAWOLO), designated by Segawa as the "male room", accommodates the male members of the household and their guests, and serves as a meeting and ceremonial area of the house. A hearth for cooking the meat of the pig and game animals by the men, the principal column, men's entrance, the ancestral altars and carved wall panels are located in this room. In accordance with the layout of the whole building, the male ancestral altar is to the front of the female one, and the same pattern is followed concerning the wall carvings. In the north Niasan dwelling, a portion of space 4 is partitioned for the bachelors (NIHA TO'U NORA 'person near the steps' simultaneously means a 'poor man' or 'person of low rank' - Feldman 1977:76), indicating that the space near the entrance, i.e. at the front of

the building, is considered to be the lowest.

The longitudinal axis provides other criteria of space division, though not as clear-cut as those provided by the transverse one. This axis divides the dwelling space into the "front" and "back" in northern Nias and "right" and "left" in southern Nias (1-3,2-4). In the north Niasan dwelling, the 1-3 "front" section is marked by the location of the elder's and householders' compartment as well as the main column of the dwelling, while the 2-4 "back" consists of the kitchen, toilets and the low-ranking bachelors' room. A similar situation obtains in southern Nias, but in a reversed order and less consistently: the 2-4 "right" includes the "sacred" room NIFOSALI and the 1-3 "left" the hearths. (The inconsistency here is the presence of the ancestral altars on this side.)

The quadripartite pattern in the Niasan domestic space is thus less evident than in Celebes, in which the longitudinal axis has a similar character to the transverse one and thus creates an ultimately diagonal line of oppositions. A bisection of dualities in Nias is suggested by the difference in determining front and back, right and left, in northern and southern Nias, which indicates a possibility of a simultaneous distinction of these notions as primary and secondary sets in both types of Niasan dwellings. However, like in Celebes and unlike in eastern Indonesia, the available data point exclusively to the transverse axis as far as the determination of sexual dichotomy is concerned.

#### SOUTH INDOCHINA

The Jarai dwelling is of the southeast Asian "longhouse" type, lengthwise with a corridor side and a private side (Dournes 1971:304). The interior of the Jarai house has been reported to be "divided into compartments, most of which are occupied by matrilineally linked nuclear families" (LeBar 1964:250); it comprises one hearth for masculine and public purposes, one or

several for married daughter(s) and her (their) husband(s) and one for the old couple.

Likewise, the Mnong house as described by Condominas (1957:483) accommodates a number of families related by matrilineal kinship or bound by friendship. The existence of two hearths in each family section, as well as two separate beds, indicate a large size of domestic units, though according to Condominas, nuclear families are the norm. The Mnong house is also longitudinally divided into the private and public or corridor sections, but the hearths are located in the corridor.

The Bru dwelling, according to Matras-Troubetzkoy (1975:221), also has the same basic plan as the previous two. It is a single-family dwelling which coexists with "longhouses" within the settlement; there is however no important difference in space use in them except for the number of hearths, indicating the number of nuclear families. The major difference from the Jarai and Mnong types is the relation of the Bru house to the settlement pattern: while the former are laid out in a haphazard manner in the settlement, though consistently oriented according to the cardinal directions, the latter are arranged concentrically around a community building distinguished by the boat symbolism (for its plan and discussion see Matras-Troubetzkoy 1975:224; cf. Hoffet 1933:8). The descent of the Bru is patrilineal and their residence is ambilocal.

The function of the longitudinal axis running through the dwellings of the three ethnic groups is essentially the same. One half formed by this axis is considered by the Bru as "high" (PUUNG) and coincides with the eastern direction among the Bru and Jarai, northern among the Mnong. A shelf is attached to the wall on this side and valuable household possessions, such as jars, gongs, drums etc. are kept there. This half of the dwelling serves as a sleeping area for the family members whose heads are oriented toward the eastern (or northern among the Mnong) wall. In the middle of this wall there may be an altar (Mnong: NDROONG YAANG); underneath it is the seat of honor (e.g., the mat for the Jarai POTAO - Dournes 1977:208).

The other side of the longitudinal axis (which may be materialized by a partition as among the Mnong or may be imaginary but on ritual occasions marked by a specific boundary, such as a line of jars with rice wine as among the Jarai - Dournes 1977:208, 218), is considered as "low" (KONDROOM) by the Bru, and is generally used as a cooking and eating area. Cooking utensils, water tubes and among the Bru and Mnong the hearth are located on this side of the

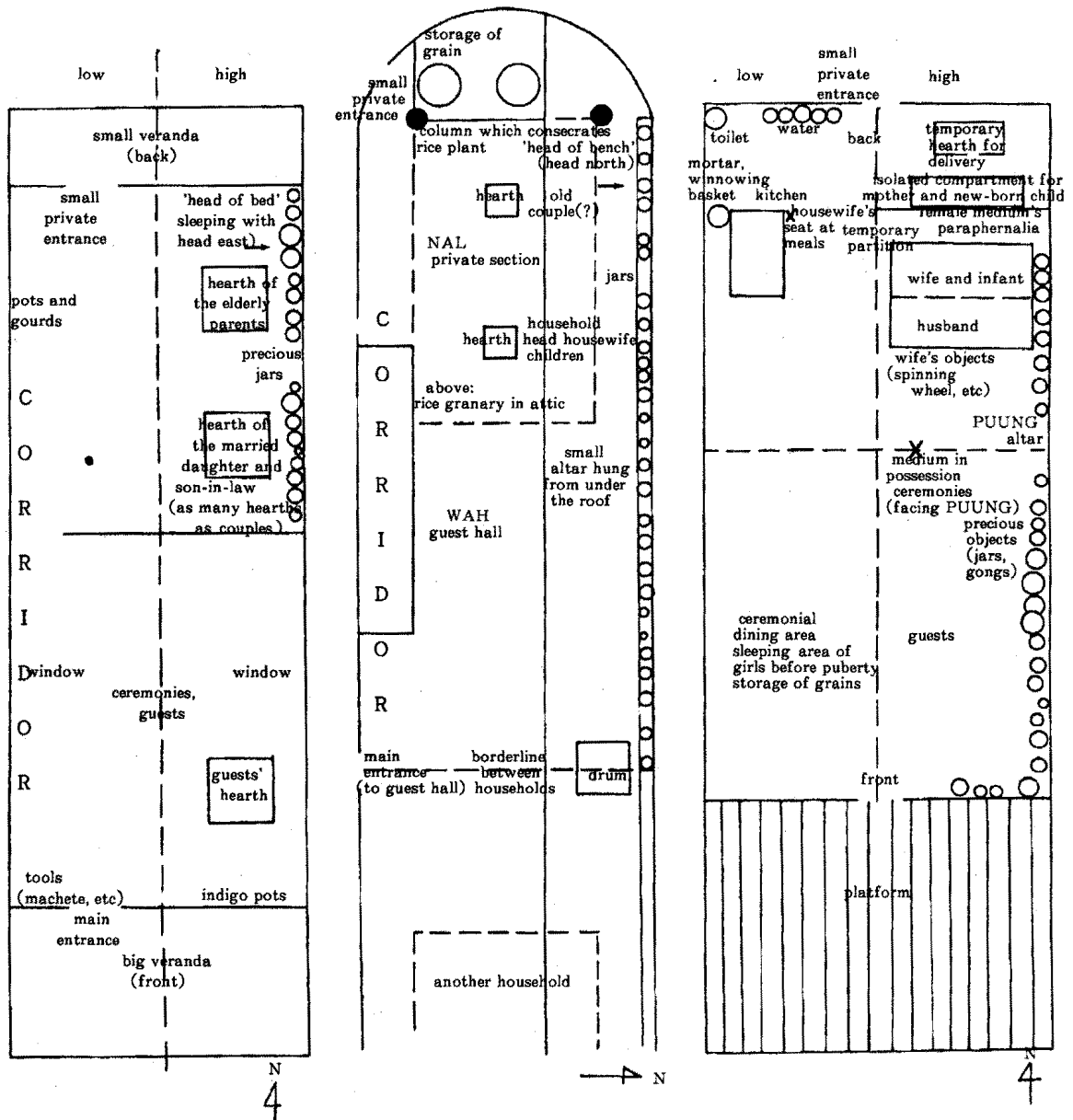


Fig. 43 (a) : Jarai. After Dournes 1972:28, 1977:208; (b) : Mnong Gar. After Condominas 1957:483; (c) : Bru. After Matras-Troubetzkoy 1975:221

axis; in the Jarai house the hearth is established on the eastern side. In the Mnong house, this section comprises a partitioned storage room of grains, and the corner of this room is formed by a column whose character is associated with the spiritual property of the rice plant. Dournes (1977:306) attributes the character of sexual dichotomy to the sections on each side of the longitudinal axis of the Jarai dwelling, which he correlates with the POTAO symbolism. The masculine (eastern) side is the location of the hearths and the feminine (western) one of water; POTAO APUI ('POTAO of fire') inhabits the eastern part of the Jarai country and is associated with such traits as masculinity, warmth and rule over the sky, while the western POTAO IA ('POTAO of water') is conceived as female, cold and fertile. The former is considered to be the father to whom sacred rituals are oriented; the latter is conceptualized as the mother whose ritual characteristics are related to fertility. The third principle, wind, as personified by POTAO ANGIN ('POTAO of the air'), is conceived as a son, without any pronounced sexual characteristics, and in the house plan is associated with the veranda (Dournes 1977:279, 280, 306, 310). The eastern (high) side is forbidden to women during menstruation (Dournes 1977:246).

Matras-Troubetzkoy (1975:223) describes the "high" half of the Bru house as ritual, as the household medium's paraphernalia and valuable objects are kept on this side and the medium conducts her shamanistic ceremonies from a spot in this section, while the opposite side is more secular, being associated with consumption, washing and waste; however, this division does not indicate any male/female symbolism. The "high" half of the house cannot be considered as male, since a delivery compartment is located there, the medium is usually the housewife and ritual objects along the eastern wall do not appear to be in an exclusive possession of either sex. It is possible that such a characterization could, to an extent, be applied to the Jarai as well; Dournes may have slightly overstated his application of the POTAO symbolism to the dwelling, as the cooking hearth area, or at least a part of it, is generally a domain of feminine activities, and so the sexual

dichotomy that does not allow women to trespass the longitudinal axis from the "low" section pertains only to the periods of ritual and a woman's menstruation.

At least equally significant is the division by the axis perpendicular to the longitudinal one. In the Bru house, according to Matras-Troubetzkoy, it may be rather vague and only becomes evident during ceremonies, though separate "rooms" formed by this axis have also been reported ("the larger room...for the men and smaller one for the women" - Mole 1970:46); in the Jarai house it coincides with a partition, and it is distinguished in the Mnong dwelling as well. This axis creates the "back" part and the "front" part of the Bru and Jarai dwellings. The Mnong dwelling, which does not accommodate an integrated extended household unit, unlike the Jarai dwelling, multiplies the number of transverse axes according to the number of families in the "longhouse", and the public (WAH) and private (NAL) sections, which correspond to the Jarai and Bru "front" and "back", alternate. Access to the Jarai and Bru dwellings can be gained through each section separately, either by the main entrance leading to the "front" section or the small private one to the "back" section. Correspondingly, the "back" section, with the cooking, eating and sleeping area of the family, which includes the temporary isolated compartment for delivery among the Bru, is the more private or intimate section, while the "front" that is attached to the main entrance, with its function of a ceremonial space and guests' accommodation, is the more public section of the houses of the three peoples. The two sections also correspond with separate activity areas of the household head and the housewife and by extension men and women. The perpendicular axis in the Bru dwelling divides, though not sharply, the objects of value along the eastern wall by placing the housewife's possessions such as the spinning wheel toward the "back". The female medium's paraphernalia are on the same rack furthest "back" at the wall of the delivery room. The medium's (housewife's) shamanistic seance occurs on a spot on the "high" side of the dwelling (as defined by the longitudinal axis) on the transverse axis, and she alternately



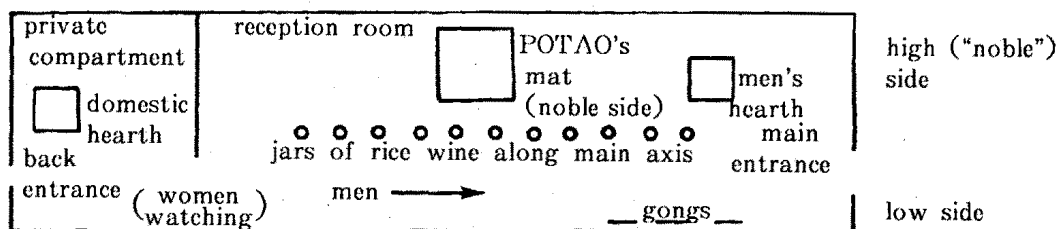


Fig. 44: Jarai. After Dournes 1977:208

takes the character of a man and a woman as she deviates from the neutral spot on the axis to either direction. Also in daily life the housewife's place tends to be at the back while the men tend to engage in their activities toward the front of the dwelling. This axis thus creates two zones, one "intimate, familial, female", characterized by consumption; the other characterized by transition to exterior, reception and masculine activities (Matras-Troubetzkoy 1975:224-226). Dournes ascribes analogous functions to the two halves formed by the longitudinal axis of the Jarai house. The Jarai housewife is concerned in her links with the ancestors and her role in funerary rituals is predominant. The cemetery is located in the northern direction from the house, thus the housewife is in a closer distance to it as her sphere of activity is the northern side of the transverse axis, than her husband who occupies the side leading to the main path in the village. During certain ceremonies, only men participate while women watch from a point on the transverse axis (Dournes 1977:208). On other occasions, separate ceremonies are held in the southern section by the men and in the northern section by the women who chant invocations of the dead (Dournes 1972:241; Dournes is silent about the sexual dichotomy according to the longitudinal axis). It is not clear whether the rituals held by the women in the interior compartment are also in any way related to agriculture; however, the location of the column that "calls spirits into the stomach of the rice plant" (Condominas 1957:483) indicates that there may be such a possibility if this Mngong trait can be compared with the Jarai ritual.

The quadripartite arrangement of floor space in the Jarai, Mngong and Bru dwellings may be schematically conceptualized as



respectively, in terms of two perpendicularly arranged axes that form a quadripartite pattern. Taking their treatments of the two dwellings as a basis for comparison among dwellings of other ethnic groups of the area, a generally consistent picture emerges.

The longitudinal axis divides the Muong house into two sections, "superior" and "inferior". The same division exists in the Yao house, where it coincides with the mountain side and the valley side, respectively. The altar of the ancestral and house-protecting deity is located on the "upper" side, while the "lower" side, in the Yao dwelling, is marked by the "main entrance". The side between the "main entrance" and the longitudinal axis, in the Yao house, is simultaneously regarded as the "front" of the dwelling, while the "upper" side is its "back". The function of this "main door" is purely ritual as it can only be used during weddings and funerals. Some Yao houses lack this "main entrance" and cut an opening in the "low" wall only before a ceremony, filling it again afterward. The Muong dwelling lacks such an entrance.

The axis cross-cutting the Muong house transversely creates, according to Cuisinier, an "interior", i.e. back, and "exterior", i.e. front divisions. The entrance is on the "exterior" side, but there may be another entrance on the interior one (Robequain 1929:201). Exactly the same manner of division exists in the Yao house where it is also marked by two doors opposite each other. The door facing the path is known as the "front door" or the "male door", and is used by visitors as well as family members, while the opposite door is referred to as the "back door" or "female door" and is used by the family members exclusively (Tsunemi 1978:193). The two divisions of space associated with these two entrances are correspondingly regarded as front/male and back/female. Thus the division into the "front" and "back" may be executed through both axes in the Yao house; however, the transverse one predominates in this respect; i.e., the transverse axis separates the primary "front" from the primary "back", while the longitudinal one divides a secondary set of the same oppositions, as its principal feature is to divide the "high" (mountain) side from the "low" (valley) side.

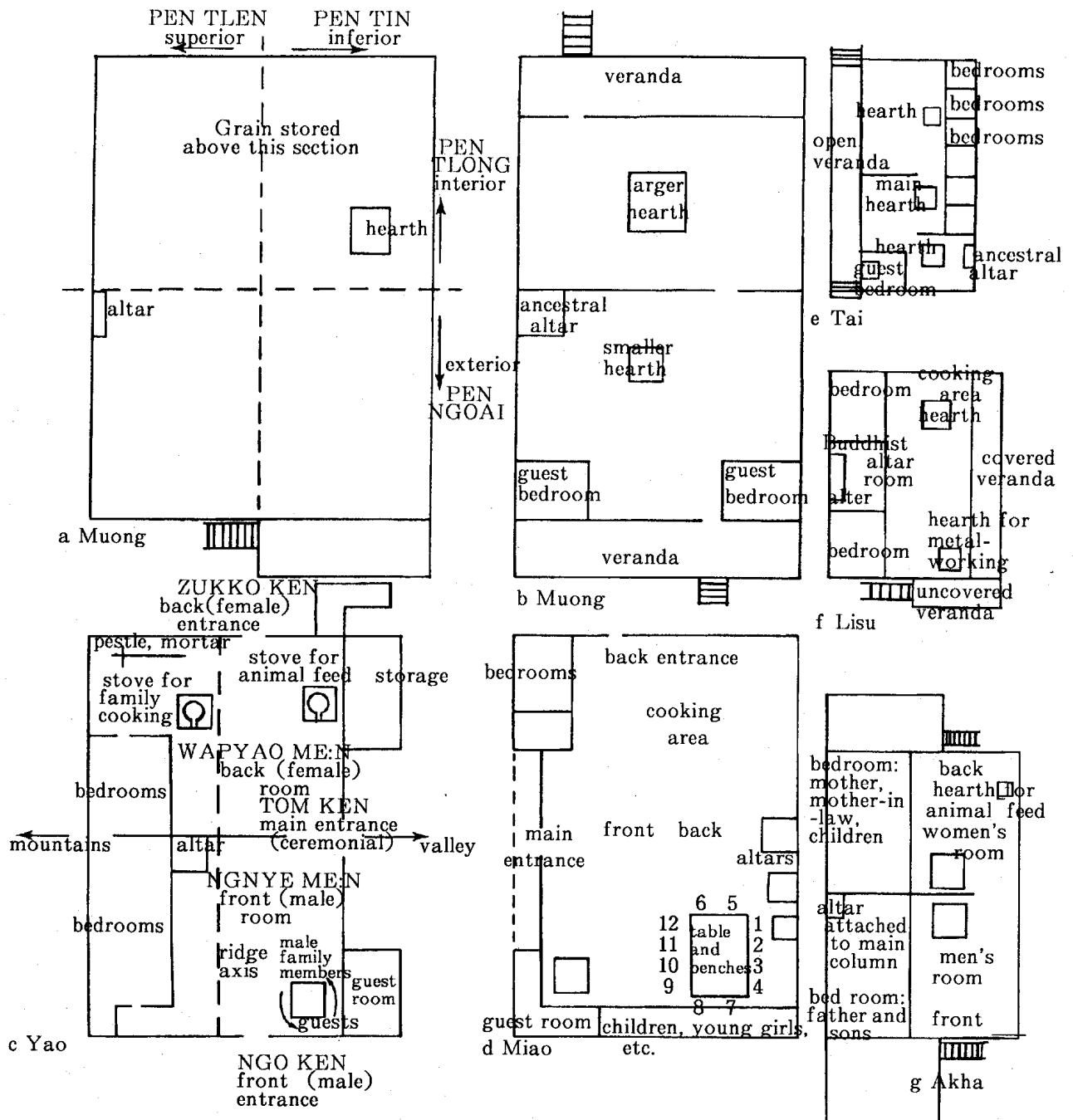


Fig. 46: (a) Muong. After Cuisinier 1948:83; (b) Muong. After Robequain 1929:201; (c) Yao. After Tsunemi 1978:194, Toyoda 1982:55, Hubert 1974:96-120, Nguyen 1934:23-32 (based on Bonifacy 1908), Tan 1981:23; (d) Miao. After Bernatzik 1970:270, Jaafar 1981:64 (based on U.S.Army 1970), Lemoine 1972: 104, 109, Nusit 1976:15, 140 - numbers: seating order according to status and seniority of men; (e) Tai. After Robequain 1929:204; (f) Lisu. After Wakabayashi 1983b:124; (g) Akha. After Toyoda 1982:61, Bernatzik 1970:397, Jaafar and Walker 1981:172 (based on Lewis 1970), Wakabayashi 1983b:124

Whether the entrance is on the long facade or the short one, it is in the quarter opposite the altar across the longitudinal axis. This is the case in space organization in the Muong, Yao, Viet, Tai, Lisu, Miao, but not Akha, dwellings. The entrances to the Viet house are on the long facade opposite the altars which are located on the side correspondent with the Muong superior side. The Chinese influence is visible here as the altar stands between the two sleeping areas in the middle of the wall opposite the entrances in the main room (cf. Robequain 1929:209-211, Hickey 1964:28-35); the dwellings of most other peoples of the area (except Lisu) exhibit no such symmetry as their altars are generally located on the "front" (male, public) side of the transverse axis which often coincides with a partition. The entrance to the Tai house is likewise gained from the long wall where the veranda runs the whole length of the house, however the main entrance to the veranda is the "front" ladder, which coincides with the "front" side of the dwelling where the altar and guests' room is located. Such a suggestion of two "fronts" exists also in the Lisu dwelling where the ladder leads first to an uncovered veranda on the short side, which is in turn attached to the covered veranda that runs along the long side, from which access to the house itself is gained. The main room comprises two hearths, one in the corner near both verandas which is for metalworking and the other in the opposite corner along the same wall, which is for cooking. It can be surmised that the hearth for metalworking also fulfills a role in guests' reception, which would compare favorably with the patterns found elsewhere in this area, namely the male section being located on the "exterior" side of the transverse axis, while the area of female activities is the "interior" part. However, no partition is set up here, as it is apparent that a part of the dwelling has been influenced by the internal arrangement in the Chinese dwelling with the Buddhist altar room placed between two bedrooms. The entrance to the Miao house is on the long facade, but again, like the main entrance to the Yao house, it is not exactly in the middle, but rather on the side of the dwelling that contains a guest hearth, a ceremonial table, and the altar to an

ancestral and house-protecting deity, which is situated along the wall directly opposite the entrance. The other half of the dwelling does not functionally differ from the corresponding section of the Muong, Yao and other types of houses of the region, and a secondary entrance to it is in the short wall. The two entrances to the Akha house are from the two short sides; however, they do not lead directly to the public section (i.e. the section correspondent with the "low" or "inferior" half among the other ethnic groups).

It has been pointed out that the axis perpendicular to the longitudinal one, i.e. to the ridge line, divides the dwellings into two sections that Cuisinier labeled "exterior" and "interior" for the Muong house and that are associated with the male and female activities. The center of the male activities is a hearth around which the household's men and their guests gather (absent in the Viet house). Tsunemi (1978:196,198) reports that this hearth in the Yao house is the residence of a male deity. In the corresponding section of the Miao house, there is a table where men gather on public and ceremonial occasions, with a seating arrangement that expresses order based on the proximity to the altar. The other hearth where women prepare food is located in the "interior" section, and may be either in the same longitudinal half as the men's and visitors' hearth (Muong, Akha) or in the diagonally opposite quarter (Yao, Miao, perhaps Lisu). The "exterior" and "interior" sections are also considered by the Yao to be "right" and "left", respectively, as the building is conceptualized as a human body with its head on the "high" (mountain) side and lower parts of the body on the "low" (valley) side (Tsunemi 1978:199).

#### 2.2.5 SUMMARY

In the area of insular southeast Asia and parts of the mainland across the South China Sea closest to it, the dwelling as a whole appears to be closely associated with the female element. This is

indicated by the fact that the central or inner-most section of the dwelling space is the domain of women, especially the housewife. The most obvious indicator of the interior space being reserved for women is the kitchen which is invariably located far from the entrance, in the most private area of the dwelling. Among the cases treated in this study, no exception has been found to exist. Very commonly, the female area is separated from the outer sections of the dwelling by a partition; often the partition appears in such a way as to suggest that the female zone is the real house while the area associated with male activities and occupancy is an open veranda, as its only solid wall is the partition from the female section. The male section is thus a periphery of the dwelling, a borderline between the interior dwelling and the outer settlement. It has been shown that this is the case of the houses of the Taiwanese aborigines (Bunun, Paiwan etc.), Javanese, Sundanese, peoples of Borneo (Iban, Selako, Ngaju etc.), east Indonesia (Atoni, Savunese etc.), and Sumatra (Minangkabau, Acehnese etc.), but comparable cases where the partitioned female area of the dwelling coincides with the notions of interior and private and male with exterior and public also exist, in addition to those above, in Celebes (Buginese, Sa'dang Toraja etc.) and eastern parts of mainland southeast Asia (Jarai, Yao, Muong etc.).

The interior section of the dwelling, besides serving universally in this area as a kitchen, is also generally used as an area where valuable objects are kept. It may also function as a secondary or primary granary, and consequently, the residence of an agricultural guardian deity. Such agricultural symbolism characterizes dwellings, especially their interiors controlled by women of the peoples of Taiwan, the Philippines and Indonesia; in certain areas, the concepts of granary and house are merged. It follows that if the granary is a feminine domain, so must be also the house as its dominant symbolism is derived from agriculture. Numerous specific examples were found to support such reasoning. Residences of non-agricultural deities within the dwelling are often found in their exterior (front) parts. These deities are

generally venerated by men, and in a number of cases are more conspicuous than those of the interior; rituals focusing on them also tend to be more conspicuous.

The high domestic position of women, which is fully manifested in the allocation of domestic space, is associated with various social features, such as matrilocality in some bilateral west Indonesian households and the emphasis on affinal rather than agnatic relations in some patrilineal east Indonesian households.

Although the interior/exterior (center/periphery) spatial dichotomy of the sexes within the dwelling is not confined to insular southeast Asia, as it also occurs in the eastern parts of the mainland, it is rather in the former area where different values are placed upon the two divisions of the dwelling space, with the emphasis on the interior or central female section. However, inadequate data on the spatial symbolism in east mainland dwellings is available to clarify the actual differences.

It was shown that the quadripartite pattern is the dominant form of spatial organization in insular and east mainland southeast Asian dwellings. Another form of spatial organization in this region is the linear one, where all the divisions are formed by parallel axes. This pattern is often found in longhouses (e.g. those in Borneo).

## 2.3 DWELLINGS OF CONTINENTAL EASTERN ASIA THAT TEND TO SPATIALLY FAVOR THE MALE ELEMENT

### 2.3.1 DWELLINGS OF MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA (THAILAND, BURMA, ASSAM)

Except for several instances in Indonesia where the male domain spatially coincides with the interior of the dwelling (e.g. Toba Batak, partly east Sumbanese), for which the suggested explanation was the emphasis on agnatic relations, a great



majority of dwellings in the archipelago place women to the interior which is often considered the core of the dwelling. An analogous division of space exists in dwellings of Indochina and southern China; however, there are no instances of houses being wholly associated with the female elements, rather, both sexes have their own delimited domains. In some cases the male element predominates. Lemoine (1972:113) points out that men's domain in the Miao dwelling is definitely the interior where they spend a large part of the day, while the women hardly enter the interior unless they cook and sleep, and their activities are most often performed near the door or outside the dwelling. The situation in the dwellings of the western part of mainland southeast Asia, an area inhabited mainly by Tibeto-Burman- and Tai-speaking peoples, is reverse from that in insular southeast Asia: the interior area farthest away from the entrance, where the main column or an altar is often located, is generally the seat of honor for men, most frequently the male head of the household. The western part of the mainland, especially its mountain section, is characterized by the prevalence of the patrilineal kinship, but the space arrangement in dwellings of peoples with bilateral (e.g. Karen) and matrilineal (e.g. Garo) kinship appears to basically conform to the pattern that predominates in the area. Structurally, the organization of space in western mainland southeast Asia is generally based on the quadripartite principle.

Cardinal directions are of a key importance to the layout of the southern Thai and northern Thai (Lao) dwelling, and coincide with the pattern of its quadripartite division. Because north is associated with east and south with west, the two axes are to a large extent homologous, and since the former set is superior to the latter, the superior/inferior opposition is expressed diagonally (cf. Clement 1982:69 for the Lao dwelling; his diagonally expressed opposition is one of "inhabitants/guests" and "closed/open"). However, as is the case of most quadripartite patterns, this line of opposition is an analytical one and is not recognized by the indigenous conceptualization which is based on the two perpendicularly arranged directions or axes.

To Davis (1974, quoted from Turton 1978:120), the two axes seem to be homologous: he attributes the notions of "senior", "male" and "right" to both the eastern and northern sections of the Thai dwelling and "junior", "female" and "left" to the western and

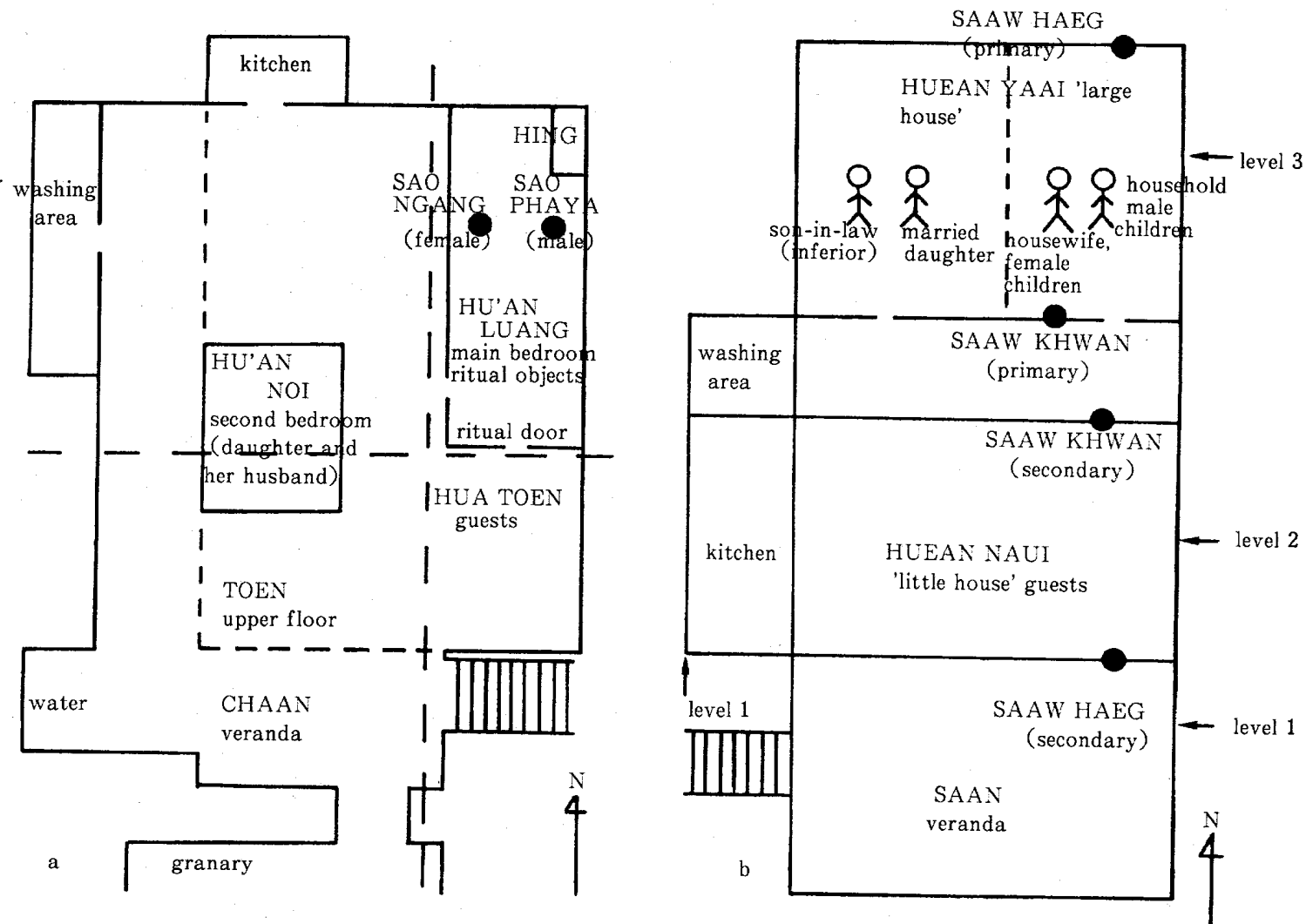


Fig. 47 (a) : Thai. After Turton 1978:120; (b) : Lao (northern Thai). After Tambiah 1973:133

southern halves. Turton (1978:120) differentiates between the two axes: the north-south axis is characterized by the ability to divide the dwelling according to purity, the western section being "low on purity" as it contains the kitchen, washing area and water storage corner, while the eastern one is "high" with the main bedroom (HU'AN LUANG) and the 'head of the veranda' (HUA TOEN); the east-west axis divides the dwelling according to "power", i.e. the northern half is more powerful than southern; further, the northern half is associated with the notion of "above" and the southern with "below". He does not explain in detail the difference between purity and power and it appears he considers them as similar notions. Tambiah (1973:134) focuses on Thai Buddhist notions of cardinal directions as determinants of the evaluation of domestic space:

"East is auspicious, represents life, is sacred (the Buddha shelf of the house is always placed in the easterly direction), and is the direction of the rising sun. East is also, when one faces north, the direction of the right hand and represents the male sex. West is inauspicious and represents death, impurity, and the setting sun. It also represents the left hand and the female sex."

Further, north is also auspicious, according to Tambiah.

Turton (1978:122) distinguishes the following grades in the Thai dwelling from inferiority to superiority: 1. unroofed veranda, 2. roofed veranda, 3. eastern TOEN (upper veranda), 4. HUA TOEN (head of upper veranda, seat of senior visitors and monks), 5. HU'AN NOI (second bedroom), 6. HU'AN LUANG (main bedroom). The inferiority and superiority are physically expressed by the difference in level of the floor, 1. and 2., i.e. the western and southern extremities of the dwelling being lower than 3., 4., 5. and 6. Turton does not explain how the kitchen on the northern side fits into his scheme; it is probable that the traditional location of the kitchen is on the western side (cf. Yuki 1982:17). Tambiah (1973:134) distinguishes four levels of the floor: washing place (west, lowest); uncovered veranda (south) and kitchen (west); HUEAN NAUI 'little house' (guest room); HUEAN YAAI 'large room' (sleeping room,

north, highest). The south Thai dwelling consists of two bedrooms, one in the northeastern corner, inhabited by the household head, housewife and children, more important than the other, located to the southwest of it and inhabited by a daughter and her husband; in northern Thailand the two rooms are attached to each other at the northern side and not separated by a partition from each other. The household head's and housewife's space is to the east of the married daughter's space. The interchangeability of the north-south and east-west directions is evident in the sleeping order of the household members; in southern Thailand, the arrangement places the household head to the extreme north of the room, his wife next to him toward south, and their children, other couples, etc. further toward south; in northern Thailand, there is a similar order, but from east (highest, occupied by the household head) to west (lowest). This gradation of spatial value is symbolized by the location of the two most important columns, in south Thailand arranged in east-west, in north Thailand in north-south relationship. The northeastern-most column (south Thailand: SAO PHAYA - senior/male post, chief of all posts, erected first; north Thailand: SAAW KHWAN) is associated with the interior-most and superior position of the household head; the column next to it to the south or west of it within the same room (south Thailand: SAO NANG - junior/female column, north Thailand: SAAW KHWAN) is associated with the housewife's position and is considered second among the columns of the dwelling. Also in that "most auspicious, pure, powerful and life-enhancing" northeastern corner of the south Thai dwelling, above the household head's head, are the HING 'sacred shelves of spirit teachers and ancestral spirits' (Turton 1978:120). In northern Thailand, according to Tambiah, this is the location of the Buddha statue, but in southern Thailand, as well as among the Tai of Yunnan (Wang 1975), the Buddhist altar is located on the eastern side of the southern veranda, not because of an inferiority of the Buddhist religion to the domestic cult, but probably because of its exterior character compared with the "little tradition" of the household. It is significant that the two columns of the "little house" of the

northern Thai dwelling are in the reverse order; it coincides with the low rank of the son-in-law whose position is the western extreme of the HUANG SHAM room (as the north-south axis is synonymous with the east-west axis). Thus there is a pattern of gradation in the Thai dwelling in which the symbolic center (actually the northeastern corner) is the place of the senior man's authority, from which a continuum of gradation toward inferiority, mainly characterized by the concepts of "female" and "junior", radiates in the western and southern directions, the sum of which is the southwestern direction leading toward the water storage, kitchen and (in northern Thailand) entrance, diagonally opposite the inner room, the household altar, the main male column and the male household head's seat. Variations in details of this layout characterize the space use in dwellings of ethnic groups inhabiting the highlands of mainland southeast Asia (e.g. Garo, Naga, Chin, Kachin, Karen, Lahu, Lawa, Lamet and perhaps Khmu), justifying their inclusion in this study into a single type.

Leach (1982:208) speaks of analogous patterns of spatial arrangements in buildings and the structure of kinship relationships, however he has chosen a chief's house of the Kachin, which cannot be considered a typical model for kinship relations as reflected in the household (cf. Suzuki's 1985 criticism of excessive emphasis of chiefs' houses and neglect of vernacular architecture in ethnographic literature). The two dwellings of the Kachin that Scherman (1915:220-221) discusses, drawing from reports of earlier authors, are likewise chiefs' houses. A plan of a Kachin dwelling that does not belong to a chief is in Wehrli (1904:42), and it probably belongs to an aristocrat, as commoners inhabit smaller structures (Fig. 48 b). Nevertheless, it is probable that a common pattern underlies all the types of Kachin dwellings, and the main difference among them is their size and the presence or absence of a room for the altar to MADAI NAT, the chief of sky spirits that is an affinal relative of one of the chief's remote ancestors. The only analytical discussion of the Kachin house is in Leach (1982:207-208); however, parts of it seem to be rather confusing and misleading.

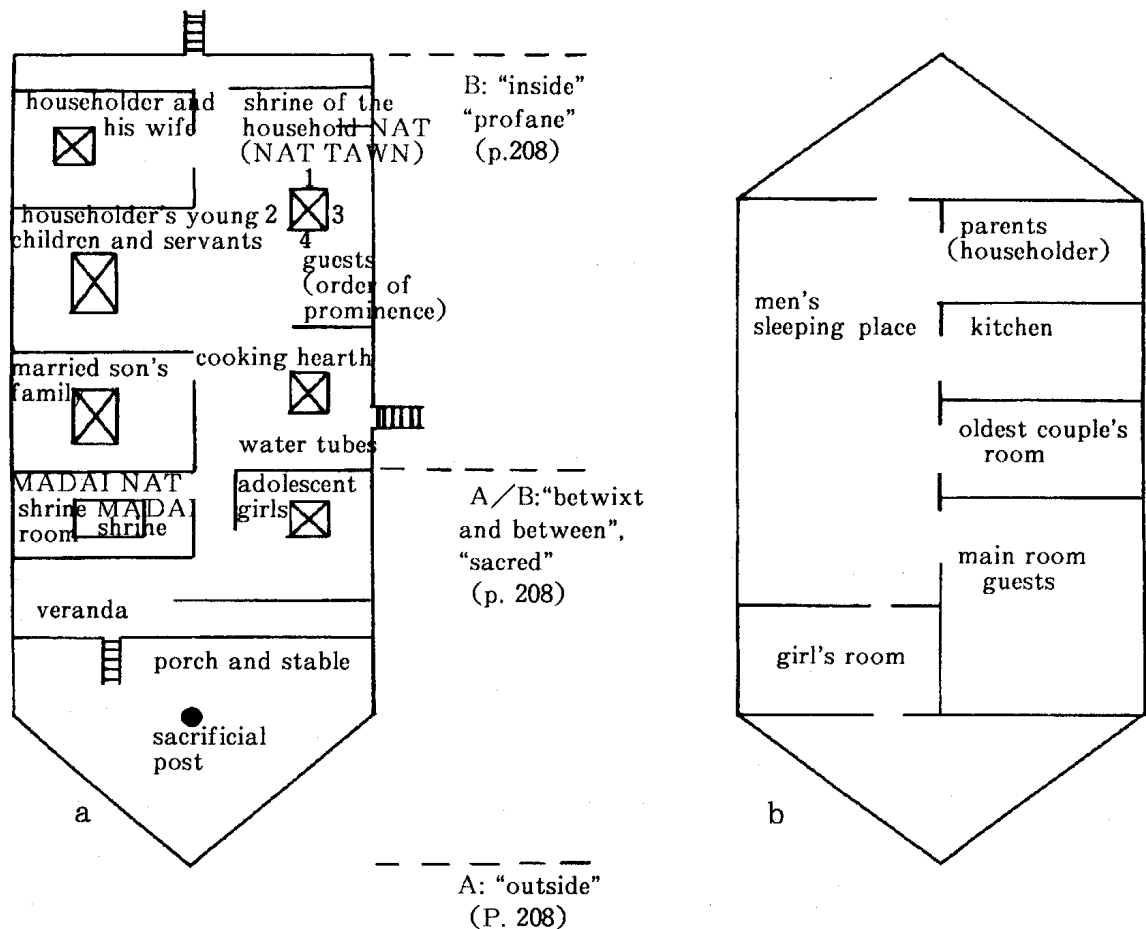


Fig. 48 : Kachin. (a) After Leach 1982:205; (b) After Wehrli 1904:42

Leach analyzes the spatial arrangement in the Kachin dwelling as follows (Fig. 48 a): A is "fully outside". B is a "secular public space except /for the room which/ is the private accommodation of the household head and his wife", and is "fully inside". A/B is

"'betwixt and between' and it is in this A/B area that we find (a) the shrine to a major deity, (b) the animals which will eventually be sacrificed to this and other deities, (c) the 'private' sleeping accommodations of the adolescent girls and their unofficial lovers, (d) the ladder which symbolizes the enduring debt relationship between the DAMA NI and their MAYU NI. Notice that the frontier between A/B and B (the 'sacred' and the 'profane') is marked by a line of drinking water containers. It is one of the principal tasks of the adolescent girls to keep these replenished."

Leach argues for the sacredness of "the semi-private room where

the adolescent girls entertain their lovers" (p. 208) by citing Raglan (1964) who "maintained that we could only understand the arrangements of a typical English dwelling house if we thought of it as a temple with the marriage bed as a shrine" (p. 209). It is problematic to accept Leach's suggestions for the following reasons: 1. Raglan's ideas are irrelevant to Leach's justification of the sacredness of the girls' room. He specifically spoke of a "marriage bed" in a sacred bedroom that symbolized the union between the sky and the earth, and illustrated it with numerous ethnographic examples (China, Madagascar, Egypt Greece Babylon the German "Himmelbett" etc.); however, there is no doubt that by "marriage bed" Raglan means just that and therefore casual premarital affairs are impertinent (cf. Raglan 1964:86-134), especially if the girl's "unofficial lovers" (Leach 1982:208) generally are "boys she could not marry on grounds of 'incest', i.e. all the boys with whom she is in brother/sister or mother's brother/sister's daughter relationship, which would include all close other than her DAMA NI relatives. The reason for this is that, as a rule, neither the boy nor the girl wants to get trapped into a formal marriage" (p.207), which contrasts with Raglan's thesis of the marriage bed. Leach does not say why the household head's and housewife's room in the furthest interior could not fulfill the function of a sacred marriage bedroom. 2. The significance of the category of A "fully outside" is not adequately explained. If B is "public" and the "betwixt and between" A/B is "semi-private", does it follow that A is fully private? 3. His usage of the concepts of private and public is confusing. The section B contains the room of the household head; furthermore, the guests seated in the interior are not casual visitors but guests of honor (it is clear from other writers that casual visitors do not enter beyond the veranda), yet it is described by Leach as "public"; on the other hand, the A/B section with the girls' room and the veranda is private or semi-private. Leach does not explain why privacy should be given to cattle and denied to the married son's family. 4. Likewise, he fails to clarify why he considers the interior part to be "profane". He mentions without elaborating

that the room of the household head and his wife (but not of their married son's family) is an exception to the profanity of section B, but he ignores that the altar to the house-protecting and ancestral deity is likewise there (not to mention the fact that in commoners' houses there is no MADAI NAT, thus this altar is the only cult point within the dwelling), and that the seating arrangement of the guests in that section expresses the preeminence of the interior direction over the exterior one. 5. The notion of water containers replenished by girls as a boundary between "sacred" and "profane" is not clear. It is hence apparent that Leach's interpretation of the arrangement of space in the Kachin dwelling represents misplacement of structural categories.

Leach's analysis is not preceded by a description, and no thorough discussion of the Kachin dwelling space is available, therefore it is impossible to offer an alternative interpretation to Leach's. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the quadripartite pattern must be taken into consideration. If one can speak of a division between the public and private areas, then the longitudinal axis should be paid attention to. With caution (as solid data are lacking), it can be suggested that the row of the family rooms enclosed by walls is the private half of the building, while the opposite side, largely unpartitioned except for the semi-enclosed girl's room, is more public, a fact that may be related to the location of a secondary entrance on that side, though its use is not known. One longitudinal half being largely enclosed and partitioned and the other not agrees with the floor plans provided by other authors. The ritual value of the floor space is stratified perpendicularly to the longitudinal axis, the evidence for which is 1. the seating arrangement of guests around the fire, the most important of whom is seated on the interior side and the least toward the exterior of the dwelling (again, we do not know the type of the guests, e.g. agnates only or agnates as well as the wife-giving affines), 2. the gradation of rooms in an apparently descending order from the interior, i.e. from the household head's room, and 3. the fact that the household lineage altar is located in the interior part of the dwelling. The fact



that the MADAI NAT is situated in the front part of the dwelling does not necessarily reflect its inferior value but rather its association with the wife-giving affines, an exterior element. There is also a certain degree of sexual division according to the transverse axis, i.e. men are in the interior, especially in the area of the ancestral altar, and women concentrating around the kitchen and the girls' room toward the front. The place of the affines, hypothetically inferred from the location of the MADAI altar, or KARAP TAWN, symbolizing the wife-givers, is toward the front diagonally opposite the agnatic altar NAT TAWN of the interior. The front being associated with the wife-givers is also stressed by the symbolism of the front entrance ladder (Leach 1982:207-208).

The importance of the longitudinal axis, neglected by Leach in his interpretation of space use in the Kachin dwelling, becomes evident in the dwelling of the Purum, a subgroup of the Chin,

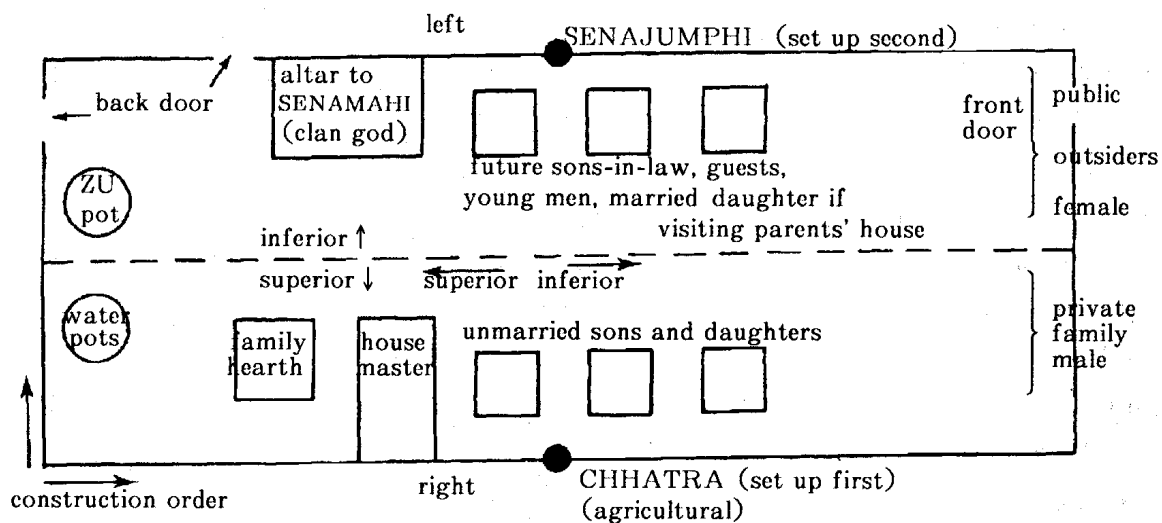


Fig. 49: Chin-Purum. After Das 1945:244, Needham 1958

described by Das (1945) and interpreted by Needham (1958). The Purum dwelling is a quadripartite structure in which the named right half (PHUMLIL) is superior to the left one (NINGAN), and the perhaps unnamed back to the front (Needham 1958:91), which corresponds to the construction order from right to left and from back to front (Das 1945:47). The two perpendicular axes coincide with the ridge line and the line connecting the two main columns.

The PHUMLIL section, symbolized by the most important column (CHHATRA) which is associated with agriculture, accommodates the household head, unmarried sons and daughters, agnates and presumably members of the wife-giving lineage, while the NINGAN half accommodates future sons-in-law, guests, young men "courting the unmarried daughters" (Needham 1958:90), presumably courting them across the longitudinal axis as "for the occupiers of the PHUMLIL side the NINGAN part is tabooed at night and vice versa" (Das 1945:244). The second most important column (SENAJUMPHI) is found on this side and is associated with the altar to SENAMAHI, the agnatic house-god. Needham (1958:99) finds its presence there and not in PHUMLIL "puzzling"; although the data on its location are based on unverified information of one of Das' informants, its location there is plausible as it coincides with the location of a corresponding altar in the Kachin house, where one would also expect it to be located across the longitudinal axis, in the "private" section. The term NINGAN refers to the married-out daughter (in fact this is where she stays overnight during her visit to her natal house), and in extension the male wife-takers (a female category), which agrees with the fact that future sons-in-law, currently performing bride-service, stay there. Needham considers the PHUMLIL half as private, pertaining to family, male and thus superior and the NINGAN half as public, pertaining to outsiders, female and hence inferior. Arguing that the tripartite connubium is a form of dualism, Needham included both the agnates and the wife-givers in one category (male superior PHUMLIL) against the female inferior wife-takers of NINGAN. Thus, Needham refuses to recognize both the contrast between agnates on the one hand and the two types of affines on the other, and the difference between agnates and wife-givers. The latter contrasts with Leach's treatment of the Kachin house in which he put the house agnates in the position of wife-takers contrasted with the wife-givers. It is possible that relationships in the Purum and Kachin houses are very similar, as the two house plans as well as social structures tend to suggest, and the differences are mainly results of the analysts' points of view. Nevertheless, the spatial

relationship among types of affines in the houses of the two ethnic groups is not as important as in Indonesia, because the function of the dwelling is to accommodate only the agnates on a permanent basis.

To compare the dwellings of the Purum and Kachin, disregarding the complex affinal issue, it is evident that the longitudinal axis separates the private from the public areas, which is also indicated by the position of the front and back entrances, and the interior is superior to the front part, as distinguished by the transverse axis, because of the location of the household head's seat in one corner and the guardian deity's altar in the other. The sexual dichotomy in the Purum house is, however, less obvious, which may or may not be related to the distinction of women according to their past or future affiliation with the wife-givers, i.e. the housewife, or wife-takers, i.e. the daughters and unmarried sisters. If such a view is right, the domain of the former would be at the back where the hearth and storage area for water and rice-wine are located, and that of the latter in the front half; however, lack of data forbids further discussion of it.

The majority of dwellings of ethnic groups of the mountainous regions of mainland southeast Asia make it clear that the masculine domain is the interior, generally the corner furthest away from the entrance, and among a number of ethnic groups it coincides with an area attached to the main column which is the residence of a guardian deity that may be associated with ancestors (Karen, Lahu, Lawa) or agriculture (Purum, Lawa). This column is prominent in both the construction of the dwelling, e.g. among the Lawa it is erected first of all the other columns by the head of the household (Wakabayashi 1983 a:105-106), and in the life of the domestic unit (rites of passage, agricultural rites, etc.). Frequently the area where the household altar is situated is enclosed; among the Kachin and Lamet, however, it is placed in the public section of the dwelling. Diagonally opposite the household head's space, which may be partitioned off to form a room (Thai, Kachin, Lahu, Sema Naga, Lamet, Khmu) near the entrance, is an area

characterized by the cooking hearth and storage of utensils used in cooking. The function of the other two corners is less specified. The back corner which shares a common wall with the household head's private space is used for receiving respected guests (Kachin, Lawa, a tendency among Garo, Karen?). Ordinary guests are received outside on the veranda. Unmarried girls use this corner in the Lawa and Lamet houses.

Thus, the pattern of space arrangement of most highland (and lowland Thai) dwelling types exhibits gradation of space value from the entrance corner characterized by the kitchen and hence female activities, at the lowest end of the continuum, to the household head's area in the opposite corner in which the family altar is often placed. Although the male-female division is very vague compared with insular southeast Asia and other areas, the tendency is for men to concentrate in the back section and for women in the entrance area. The gradation according to age often coincides with it. More clearly visible in the dwelling is the longitudinal division into a public section and a private one. To the household head's room which is often partitioned, other rooms may be added according to the number of nuclear families in the dwelling in a descending order toward the front, and the number of rooms as well as the length of the dwelling can increase in accordance with the economic status of the inhabitants who constitute in most cases a patrilineally extended household. Thus most dwellings in the highlands of mainland southeast Asia, especially those that accommodate chiefly households, have the capability to become "longhouses" not unlike those of island southeast Asia, by addition of rooms on one side of the longitudinal axis and elongation of the public half on the other. However, even if such a "longhouse" structurally similar to one of Borneo or Sumatra is formed and the public area becomes a secondary "front" and the private part "back", the use of space nevertheless remains typically mainland southeast Asian as the rooms would not be identified with the female element and the corridor with the male one, but rather the other way around.

The use of space in dwellings of mainland southeast Asia,

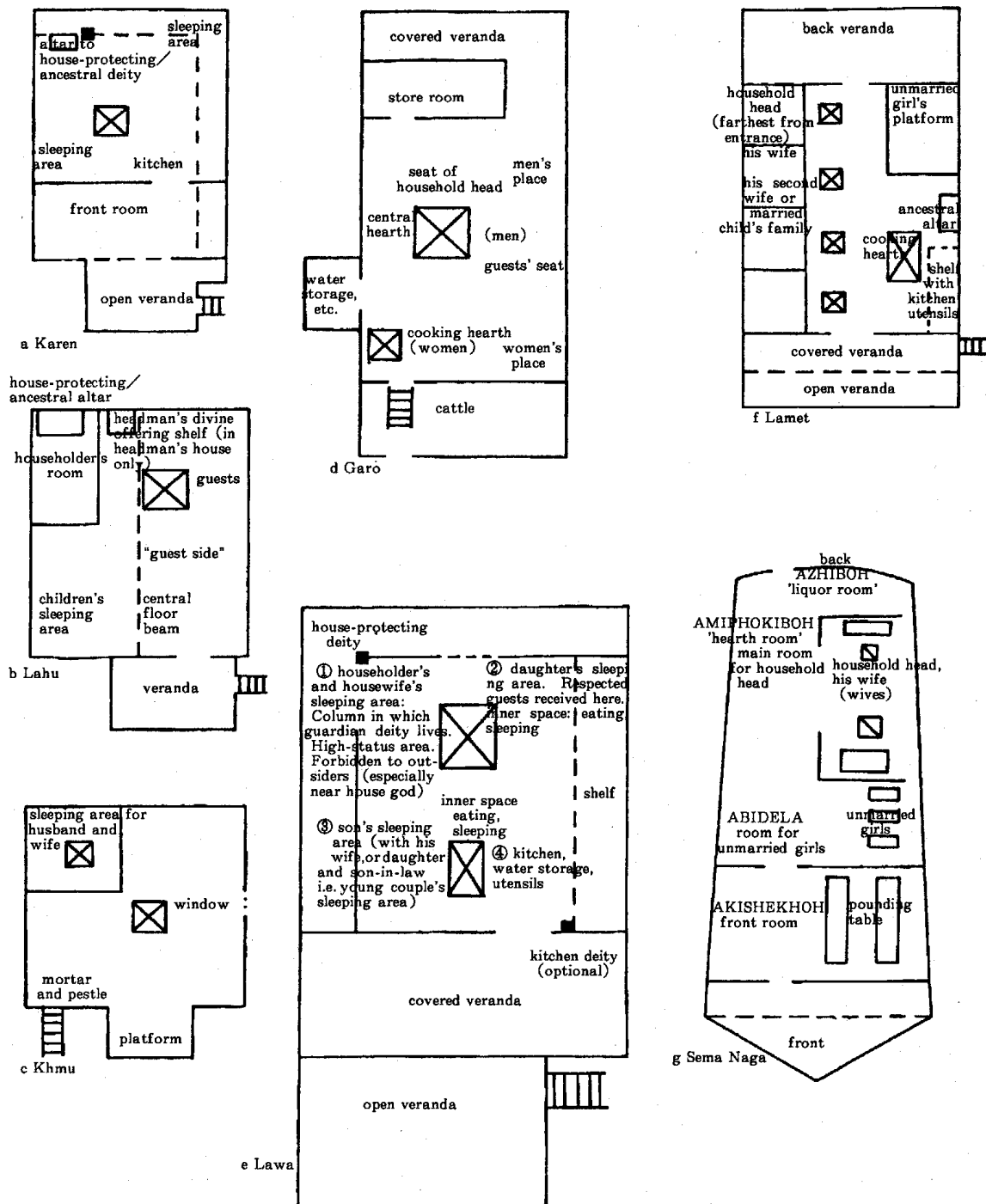


Fig. 50 (a) : Karen. After Wakabayashi 1983b:123; (b) : Lahu. After Walker 1983:163, 1981:130-131, Wakabayashi 1983b:95; (c) : Khmu. After Roux and Tran 1972:172; (d) : Garo. After Nakane 1967:155; (e) Lawa. After Wakabayashi 1983a:103; (f) Lamet. After Izikowitz 1951:60; (g) : Sema Naga. After Hutton 1968:38-41

especially its western highlands, can be schematized as follows:

The inclusion of the Khmu dwelling to this type is problematic. Chesnov (Cheboksarov 1979:52), drawing from Roux and Tran (1927:172-173), states: "Functionally or by partitions is separated a bedroom where a heating fire is located. In the

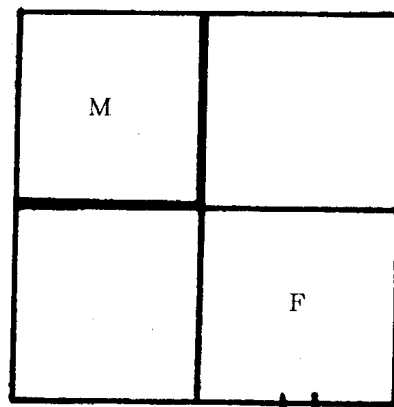


Fig.51

center of the room is another hearth. ...In the rear part is a special room where the ancestral altar is located and where rice is cooked. Rice can only be prepared there, and only women can enter this room." However, this information was not verifiable in Chesnov's source; moreover, the existence of such a sacred room for the housewife seems rather unlikely in mainland southeast Asia, especially if the character of the altar is ancestral. Both the guardian deity of the household (ROI GANG, associated with the hearth) and the agricultural deity are described as being addressed in rituals performed by the male household head.

The discussion of the space use in the Arakanese (a lowland Burmese subgroup) dwelling is included in this section, although the data (Bernot 1967) indicate that it differs from the general mainland southeast Asian type. Since only this and no other analytical report on the Burmese dwelling is available, no attempt is made to distinguish it as a specific type or subtype.

An aspect the Arakanese dwelling shares with the Thai one is the location of the Buddhist altar on the periphery, thus orienting it toward the community rather than the household which tends to identify itself more with the "little tradition".

The sexual dichotomy in the Arakanese dwelling space becomes apparent at ceremonies when women tend to stay on the kitchen side. Guests are entertained and served by men in the front part of the dwelling. In the daily life the division of the sexes is determined by the longitudinal axis that runs parallel to the roof ridge. The quadripartite zoning in the Burmese house can be

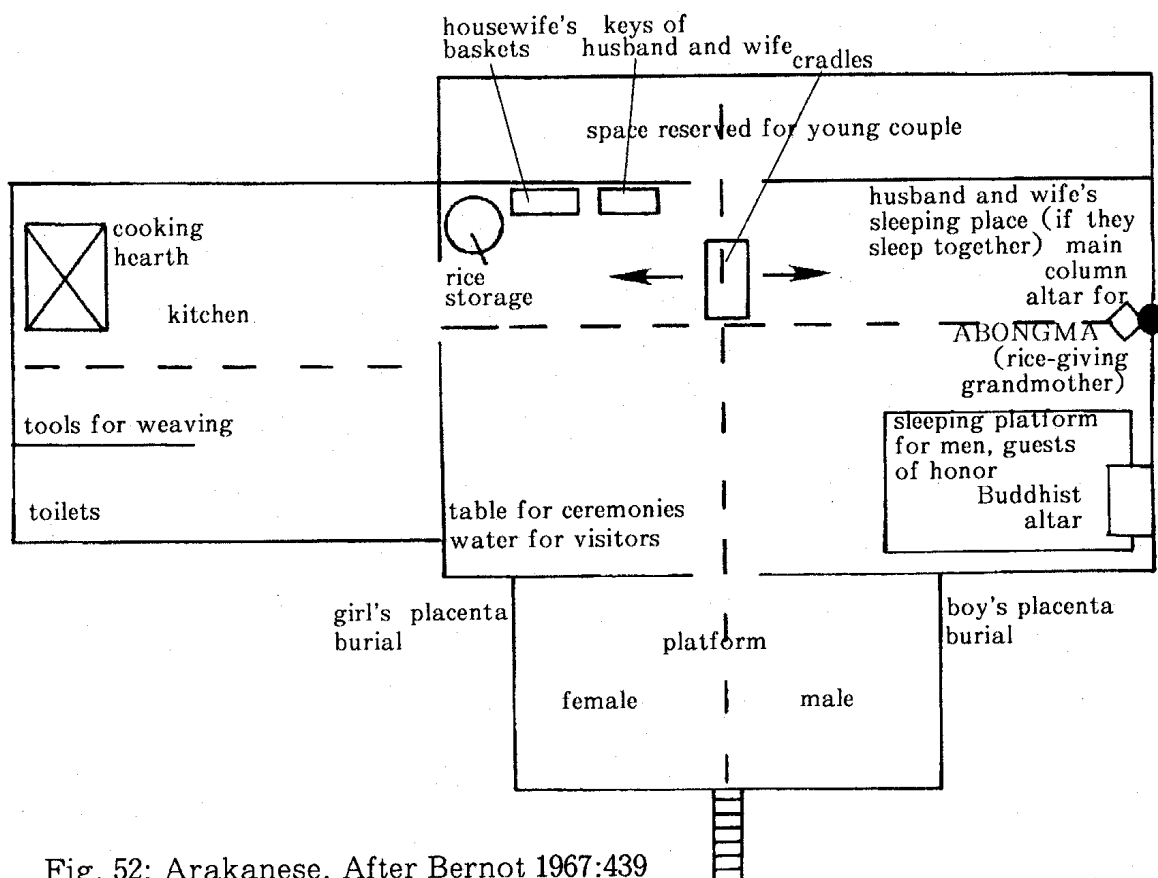


Fig. 52: Arakanese. After Bernot 1967:439

schematized in the following way: The completely male zone (A) is characterized by the presence of the Buddhist altar, a sleeping platform for the household head and his sons and for male guests, as well as for keeping valuables, while the diagonally opposite female zone (B) is characterized by a sleeping area for the housewife, her daughters and infants, rice storage and the presence of a basket with the housewife's belongings, and other objects of feminine use. The altar to Abongma, a female rice deity, is in a neutral place on the ritually superior side of the dwelling, attached to the main column (Bernot 1967:439-450).

The difference from the common mainland southeast Asian type is the interior position of women. Determining back and front according to the longitudinal axis is quite rare in mainland southeast Asia, and a study

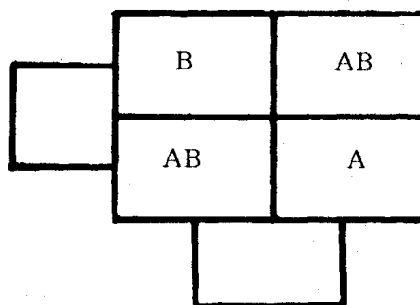


Fig. 53

of distribution of variations of the dwelling space type throughout the lowland of Burma would indicate whether an axial inversion has occurred.

### 2.3.2 HAN DWELLING

The use of space in the dwelling of the Han people of China is rather difficult to compare with other ethnic groups of eastern Asia, as its basic concepts stem from uniquely Chinese ideologies. (Some of them have been diffused to other areas, e.g. Korea, Japan, Vietnam, but only in China they are the foundation of spatial reckoning and spatial categories.) Also, the strong patrilineal emphasis of the Chinese is spatially manifested by the co-residence of a patrilineally extended families, or lineage segments, thus resulting, at least in central and southern China, in large estates with complex kinship ties among the residents, and representing a synthesis of elements of a dwelling and of a settlement. As mentioned in the introductory section, the comparative method employed in this study is based on using a common denominator and hence discussion of complex or exceptional cases is generally avoided. However, three factors warrant the inclusion of a brief discussion of the Han dwelling. They are the three main problems dealt with in this study: 1. The focal point of this study is the Japanese dwelling space in a diachronic perspective; although it will be argued that the Chinese dwelling has not affected in any major way the Japanese dwelling space, it will be necessary to support such an argument with concrete data concerning the former. 2. The major objective of this study is to attempt to distinguish dwelling spaces as those that favor the male element and those that favor the female one. With the strong patrilineal descent and emphasis on patriarchal relations within the household, the Chinese example is presumed to be a strong case in point. 3. Finally, it has been mentioned in the introduction that the Chinese city is based on the notion of four



quarters. Since the same basic pattern underlies other forms of organized space in the Chinese culture as well (palace, empire, universe), it follows that it should exist, at least partially, also in the vernacular dwelling, and thus support the propositions in this study regarding the quadripartite pattern.

It has been suggested by Starikov and Cheboksarov (Cheboksarov, ed. 1979:136) that despite the variation in the Han dwellings, two main types may be distinguished: (a) northern and (b) central-southern. The features that characterize the first type, which they also call Manchu-Chinese, are its relatively small size (about two or three rooms -- two-room dwellings accommodating nuclear families and three-room dwellings stem families, with parents occupying the eastern room and son's family western), the presence of benches (k'ang) heated underneath from kitchen stoves, and the central location of the kitchen in the three-room variant. The authors (p. 139, also Sullivan 1972:136) consider this to be the basic type of the Han dwelling. The central-southern type is characterized by its increased size which often manifests itself in the reversed U-shaped plan, sometimes with double wings on each side, a rectangular plan with a central courtyard, or in the extreme south huge square or round residences, sometimes (especially among the Hakkas) encompassing the whole settlement. No heated k'ang benches are present in the central-southern type, and the central room is not a kitchen as in the north but an altar room and guest room. The authors' view is that the deviation of the central-southern type and its subtypes from the basic Manchu-Chinese type is due to the absorption of elements from assimilated southern aboriginal peoples.

It is quite plausible that the type prevalent in northern China is basic, as dwellings with two or three living/sleeping rooms on each side of a central one are common also in the south, especially among fishermen or poorer peasants. Starikov and Cheboksarov (p. 136) label the central room in the north Chinese dwelling as a "kitchen" and use it as a distinguishing feature from the central-southern Han dwellings; however, only the front (southern) part of the room is the location of the stoves, as the k'ang benches are

always attached to the southern wall where the only windows in the dwelling are located, but its back part is occupied by the altar (cf. Sullivan 1972:136 for a house in Hopei Province), a feature shared with central and southern China. In the central-southern part of China where dwellings lack the k'ang heating system, the kitchen may be a separate building, a room attached to the room of the household head and his wife room, or several rooms that join the rooms of individual married couples. Hence, the presence of the altar room in the center of the dwelling is a trait that unifies most dwellings in China. Another feature almost universal in China is the orientation according to the cardinal points. The entrance to the dwelling is on the southern side, while the altar is directly opposite it at the northern wall, facing south. The north-south axis is the principal one in the Han dwelling.

The altar room is the focal point of the house. Its importance has been recognized by various writers:

"Entering a completed compound by way of the open end of the U one faces a heavy double-leaf door that leads to a large room, the ceiling of which is often blackened by smoke from incense. This is the ritual and social center of the house, the cheng-t'ing. It is here that the family receives guests, and it is here that they worship their ancestors and the gods enshrined on their domestic altar. Images of the gods and the ancestral tablets are located on a high table facing the door and the open end of the U, the gods at stage left in the position of honor, the ancestors on their right. On the wall behind the altar one usually finds a colorful picture of the Buddhist deity Kuan Yin, and in front of the altar a table where offerings are placed and guests are served at banquets. Every cheng-t'ing also contains an incense burner devoted to Yu Huang Ta Ti, the supernatural emperor, commonly referred to as T'ien Kung. This is hung from the ceiling a few feet inside the door that opens onto the courtyard between the wings of the house" (Wang 1974:184).

"This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to

the world. Here one finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. There are flat, rectangular slips of wood rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the door" (Wolf 1968:25).

This room may also serve as a dining area, storage, or sleeping place for unmarried boys, but never girls and women (Fei 1939:121). Daily offerings and maintenance of this altar may be done by the housewife, if not in the state of pollution, but on formal occasions such as new year, offerings must be brought by the household head.

The south-north axis determines the layout of the dwelling, regardless its size. In the U-shaped compound, the southernmost point is the entrance from the road while the northernmost point is the altar in the altar room at the back, opposite the entrance. Exactly the same pattern obtains in fully quadripartite dwellings, where the open side of the U is filled by various non-residential buildings on both sides of the gate. In the circular fortified settlements of Fukien, the access to the altar room, which is at the point farthest away from the southern entrance, follows a number of courtyards (Sullivan 1972:140). Analogous patterns are found in the cave settlements in the loess areas of China, where dwellings are dug in the walls of a large rectangular vertical pit.

The Chinese city provides another analogy. According to Wheatley (1971:452), of the two perpendicularly intersected axis-streets that form the skeleton of the city's layout, the one running south-north is of a particular importance. At one end (south) of it the main gate to the city is located; at the opposite end (north) the palace stands facing south. Nothing seems to mark the physical center, i.e. the intersection of the two axis-streets, but the palace stands at the symbolic center at the north end of the main axis opposite the gate. Certain notions of verticality characterize this axis-street. The palace stands on a platform

and is the highest building in the city; importance of the offices and residences along the north-south street decrease in the direction toward the southern gate, which is considered low.

Similar concepts of verticality apply to the Chinese dwelling compound, in which the altar room stands in the place of the palace, i.e. at the northern end of the north-south axis. The back building (north), considered to be the core of the dwelling, has a higher roof level than the other buildings (Wang 1974:183). According to the Chinese geomancers, the ideal position of the Chinese dwelling is at an end of a small valley, where a slope rises immediately behind the back building, and two small ridges, like embracing arms, descend behind the two lateral wings toward the bottom of the valley where the fields are located. In certain areas, local geomancers actually prescribe the orientation according to the landscape rather than the cardinal points, where the two factors are in discrepancy. Thus, the house of Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) in Hunan has its gate on the northern side and its altar room on the southern side, facing north, contrary to the ideal Chinese practices, but its rear (altar) part is on the slope side (Sullivan 1972:137). The seating order, in which the seat-of-honor on the northern (altar) side is called the "high" seat and its opposite southern (entrance) seat "low" (Fei 1939:127), also points to symbolic verticalization of this main axis.

Less important than the north-south axis, in the dwelling as well as in the city, is the axis perpendicular to it, running in the east-west direction. To an extent, its function resembles the north-south axis, as it may be terminated at one or both ends by secondary altar rooms (Fig. 54 b). Although it is less conspicuous than the south-north spatial hierarchy, the space defined by this axis is also stratified, the eastern (right if viewed from the gate) side being superior to the western (left) side. The function of this perpendicular axis as a determinant of spatial status can be seen also in the main altar room: "The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives" (Wolf 1968:25; cf.

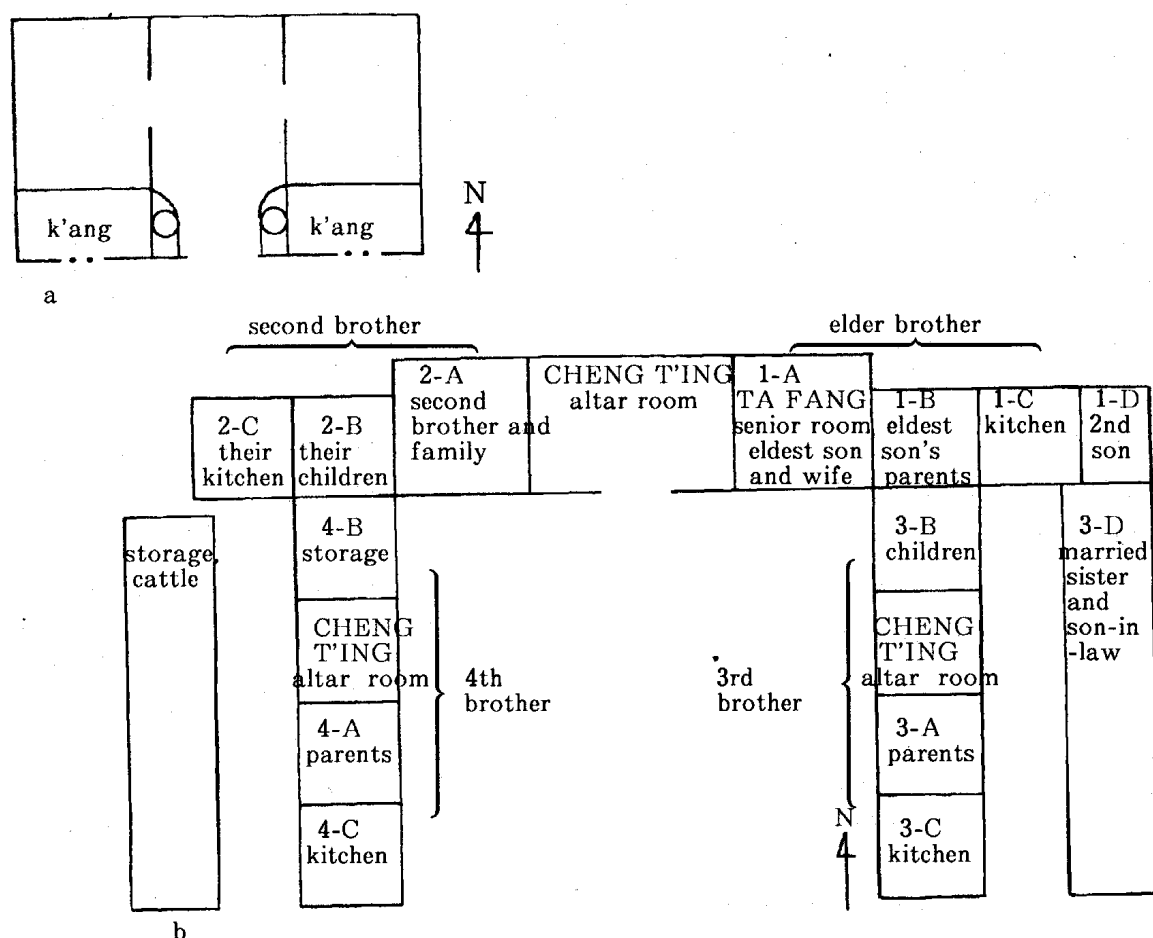


Fig. 54: Han. (a) north China. Inferred from Sullivan 1972:136;  
 (b) central-southern China (Taiwan). After Wang 1974:185

Wang 1974:184 cited above). Although the layout of rooms on the sides of the altar room in the main (back) building of the compound is always symmetrical (generally one to three rooms on each side), the value of each side is different: again, the eastern side is superior to the western. The householding couple and/or the eldest son with his family occupy rooms of the former while the younger son's families occupy those of the latter. The same seniority order follows in the two lateral wings, eastern being senior and western junior (for detailed discussion of spatialization of kinship in a compound through time see Wang 1974:184-186). The construction of a compound is done in stages according to growth and division of residential units: first, a building with the central altar room and two to four living/sleeping rooms on its sides is constructed. This becomes the main building later when

the eastern wing is added, and the compound assumes the shape of an L. After that, a wing on the opposite side is constructed to complete the U pattern. This process may continue further with the addition of other wings behind the eastern and western ones, always following the same spatial order of seniority.

It is thus evident that the spatial hierarchy in the Chinese dwelling is, facing from the gate, back, right, left, front. The front is generally non-residential but may be used for economic purposes. The space where the two superior parts overlap, i.e. back right, is the domain of the household head. It consists of his living/sleeping room, which also serves as a center of the household where guests are received, especially in winter, as there are no k'ang benches in the altar room in north China (Yang 1945:40), and the kitchen where his wife does her cooking. Of all kitchens in the compound, this is the most important one, and contains another focal point of the household, ritually perhaps as significant as the altar room: it is the residence of the kitchen god, a major household deity:

"In the village, the god, besides the ancestor spirits, who receives sacrifices most frequently, is the kitchen god -- his wife being sometimes included. The kitchen god, zongcen, is the supernatural inspector of the household, sent by the emperor of heaven. His duty is to watch the daily life of the house and to report to his superior at the end of each year. This god is represented by a paper inscription, bought from the shop in the town and placed in the little palace on the stove. He receives sacrifice twice a month..." (Fei 1939:99).

Based on the frog symbol in the Chinese character, Eberhard (cited from Reshetov 1986:232-234), using data from the Chinese folklore and customs, inferred that in ancient China, the goddess of hearth was a frog deity, and was simultaneously a fertility symbol. Whatever the case may be, such a view is definitely not applicable to the present-day situation. The kitchen god is always male, sometimes accompanied by his wife or wives, as depicted on the paper inscriptions. His character is quite different from a guardian deity; rather, he is conceptualized as a human-like

bureaucrat, or perhaps a policeman, whose main duty is to register cases of misconduct and report them to his superior, who would in turn punish the offender or offending household accordingly. Various ways to condition his mood and to prevent him from giving a full report were devised, as anecdotally described in many ethnographies. The kitchen god is in no way connected with the female element. Just as in the case of the ancestral altar, women may bring offerings to it, but on important occasions it is always the household head or another male. In some areas, e.g. near Peking, only men may offer sacrifices to it under all circumstances. Women are again subject to more prohibitions than men vis-a-vis the kitchen god (Reshetov 1986:235, Fei 1939:100). Little or no fertility or agricultural symbolism may at present be attributed to it. The rice straws and grain offered to it before the departure for heaven are intended as fodder for the kitchen god's horse (Reshetov 1986:235). The reverence of rice associated with it concerns only the cooked rice, as a meal, not in the sense of the plant (Fei 1939:100).

Because of the masculine character of the kitchen god and its veneration by men, the kitchen cannot be regarded as a fully female domain. The fact that the kitchen, especially in the central Chinese dwelling, is attached to the quarter of the dwelling which is of the highest value, being both northern and eastern, does not seem to be in favor of the supposition of this kitchen as a feminine area, either. (But this, on the other hand, cannot be claimed unambiguously, as there is at least one report of a "subsidiary ancestral altar with a tablet the owner's wife brought with her when she married into the family" - Wang 1974:186.) In fact, no division into female and male areas is discernible in the Chinese compound; the whole residential area seems to be a fully male-controlled space.

The data on the seating arrangement at meals may throw some light on the problem of the spatial dichotomy of the sexes. The "high" seat at back (altar side) facing south, is occupied by the head of the family. The seats next in the order, which coincides with that in the whole dwelling and compound, are the eastern and

western ones, and are also reserved for men. Women, if present at all, sit on the lowest (southern) seat. If this pattern is projected back to the compound, the female side would correspond with the southern side, where nothing, except for a gate, exists; occasionally an economic building may stand there. This spatial pattern points to the status of women, both daughters and wives, as outsiders in the household. As Baker (1979:21-22) has shown, the Chinese women "were necessary for the reproduction of the species, and in most cases for their labor in the home, but in both ways they were considered to be there to serve the male and the male principle. (...) The basic family was a group of males which in order to reproduce itself imported brides from elsewhere and, since it was primarily a male group, it did not hesitate of course to export its own females (its daughters) elsewhere as brides".

Returning to the proposition of the north Chinese dwelling being the basic Chinese type, it seems it is supported by the above-outlined spatial notions, as the kitchen in it, which is the closest to a feminine domain in the Chinese house, is in the front part of the dwelling, near the entrance, and thus in agreement with women's position at the lowest, and most exterior, side of the four at meals.

### 2.3.3 SPATIAL RELATIONS IN NORTHEAST ASIAN DWELLINGS

A comparative treatise of the relationship between the use of dwelling space and culture history, economy, social structure and religion in northern Eurasia has been done by the Estonian ethnologist Gustav Raenk (1949 and an enlarged version in two volumes of 1951). Raenk distinguishes three basic types of dwelling space arrangement:

Type 1: The cult area is located directly opposite the entrance, between the hearth and the rear wall. This area is the seat of honor for a respected male guest, plays an important role in shamanistic rituals and has an economic character related to



hunting and other activities performed exclusively by men. Seats on both sides of this cult place are occupied by men. The female section is located on both sides of the entrance. Thus, the axis cutting across the dwelling perpendicularly to the entrance-altar line divides the space according to sex, the men's area being in the rear and women's in the front (Raenk's reckoning; indigenous reckoning of front and back refers to the altar area and entrance area respectively). This arrangement corresponds geographically with northern Eurasia and includes such ethnic groups as the Lapps and Komi of northern Europe, Khanty and Mansi (Ob-Ugrians), Dolgan, Ket and various Samoyedic groups of western Siberia, the Evenk (Tungus) of eastern Siberia and the Nivkh (Gilyak), Ulchi, Nanay (Goldi) and Ainu of the Pacific coastal areas and Sakhalin. Economically, it correlates with hunting, fishing and reindeer-breeding ways of life. It is typified by the conical portable tent, but not restricted to it as angular structures (e.g. dwellings of the Ob-Ugrians, some Transbaikal Evenk groups and the peoples of the lower Amur basin) may also pertain to this type (Fig. 56).

Type 2: As in Type 1, the altar is situated between the hearth and the rear wall, but in many cases not directly opposite the entrance but slightly toward the left (seen from the entrance; again, Raenk's reckoning of right and left is contrary to indigenous) in dwellings of a circular plan, in the back left corner in rectangular dwellings. The seat-of-honor for a respected male guest is immediately in front of it. The seat of the head of the household is directly opposite the entrance, between the guest who sits on his right-hand side and his wife on his left-hand side. The axis that divides the sexes runs from the entrance to the rear of the dwelling placing men to the left side and women to the right side. The altar and the seat of honor are therefore on the male side. Like in Type 1, the ranking of seats in this arrangement is determined by the distance from the entrance, i.e. the highest-ranking persons are seated in the rear area while individuals of a low status are linked to the area near the entrance. This type geographically corresponds with southern Siberia, e.g. the Tuva, Altayans and the Yakuts who have migrated

to the north relatively recently, Mongolia and Central Asia. Economically, according to Raenk, Type 2 correlates with the nomadic pastoralists, and is typified by the dome-shaped "yurt" of central Asia, although other architectural forms are included as well (Fig. 55b). Both Type 1 and Type 2 are associated with patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence.

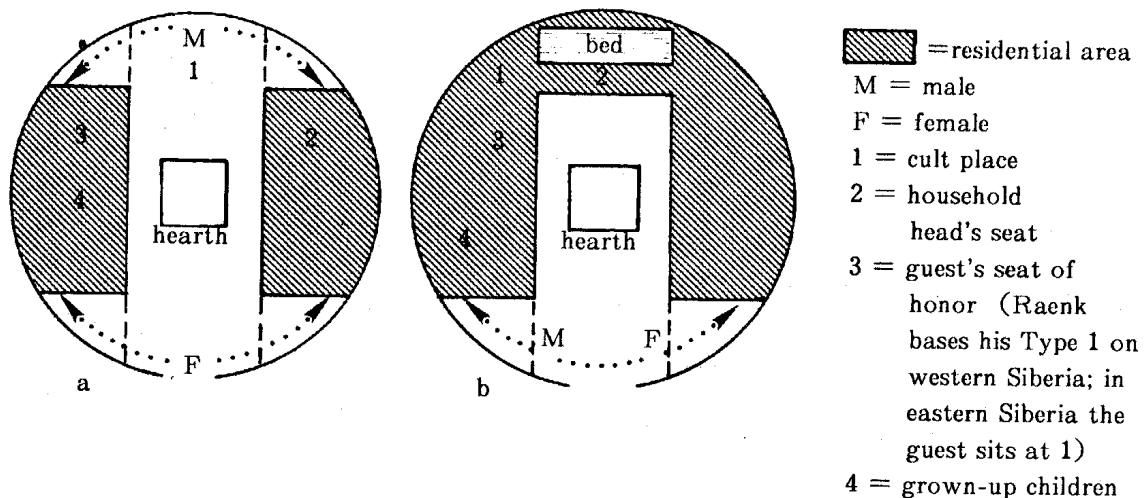


Fig. 55 (a): Type 1. (b): Type 2. After Raenk 1951:150

Type 3: The rules concerning the seating arrangement in the subterranean dwellings of the so-called Paleoasiatic or Paleosiberian maritime hunting peoples, i.e. the Chukchi, Koryak and Itelmen (Kamchadal), who inhabit the Chukotka and Kamchatka Peninsulas, are not as rigid as in Types 1 and 2. There is a small corridor or tunnel entrance used mainly by women and children on one side, and sleeping platforms are located opposite it, behind the hearth or main oil lamp. But in this type, women have access to it and after menopause they are allowed to establish their sleeping and living quarters there. Although there are altars on the ground in these pithouses, the principal points of veneration are the roof opening which functions simultaneously as a smoke hole and the main entrance to the dwelling, and the notched pole or ladder which connects the smoke hole with the bottom of the pit (Raenk 1949:98-103, 1951:141-151).

To summarize the three types proposed by Raenk, Type 1, Type 2

and to a lesser degree Type 3 are characterized by the gradation of spatial value from the lowest point of the entrance to the highest one opposite it. This gradational continuum is disjoined in the middle by a central axis, determined by the position of the hearth, which conceptually divides the continuum into a lower and a higher parts. In Type 1 this axis simultaneously divides the sexes; the female area corresponds with the lower half and male with upper. In Type 2, however, the sexual dichotomy is determined by the axis perpendicular to it, i.e. the one running in the front-back direction; hence, both sexes are subject to equal criteria of spatial ranking and both have access to the superior back section. The rule against spatial trespassing in Type 1 is thus bipartite (women and low-ranking individuals may not enter the back section) while in Type 2 it is quadripartite (low-ranking individuals may not enter the back section and women may not enter the perpendicularly bisected male section; the latter rule generally works vice versa). In Type 3, the axes are rather vague and insignificant; rather, the principal line is the vertical one, embodied by the roof entrance ladder.

According to Raenk (1951:150), there are three main features that the three types hold in common: 1. The entrance (among the Paleoasians the women's entrance) area of the dwelling serves economic purposes in daily life and socially is the least valuable zone; often it is utilized as a kitchen. 2. The middle space on both sides of the hearth is a living area for the household members. 3. The back space is the most honorable, as the altar is on that side and high-ranking male guests, shamans, lamas or Orthodox priests are seated there. This section adopts the three Raenk's types as a point of departure for the discussion of the use of dwelling space in northeast Asia, however, instead of focusing on the differences among the three types, it aims at discerning the general pattern that underlies all of them. The main two arguments are: 1. the notions of verticality and horizontality are intertwined on the horizontal plane of the dwelling and 2. the two perpendicularly bisected axes possess to a large extent homologous symbolism.

The ladder that leads to the smoke hole, especially its upper

part, is the ritual focus in the subterranean dwellings of northeast Asian maritime hunters (Raenk's Type 3). Jochelson (1905-1908) reports that in the Koryak pithouse "the ladder is one of the family guardians, and its top is carved in the form of a human face" (p.457) and that prayers are said to it (p. 43). Its prominence is especially evident during hunting and shamanistic rituals when it is used to communicate with the supernatural and animal world, and thus fulfills predominantly masculine functions. This ladder generally is not forbidden to women although the tendency for women and children in the Koryak and Itelmen houses is to enter through a small foreroom or tunnel which is also used as a storage area for food and cooking utensils. In the Koryak house, "the men consider it incompatible with their dignity to enter the house through this opening" (Jochelson 1905-1908:458), likewise, among the Itelmen "any man who used this opening would be laughed at and would be looked on as if he were a woman" (Krashennnikov 1972:213). The predominantly male space is at the base of the ladder, which is situated behind the hearth opposite the tunnel entrance, and is dominated by the guest's (Koryak) or household head's (Itelmen) seat-of-honor. The Chukchi pithouse also has two entrances, however, their use is determined seasonally, i.e. in summer the tunnel entrance cannot be used because of flooding (Bogoras 1904-1909:181).

Access to the subterranean dwelling of the Amur River Nivkh (Gilyak) is gained through a foreroom with a sloping floor; however, on certain ritual occasions the smoke hole is used to enter. During the bear ceremony, the killed bear's head and skin are passed to the winter pithouse through the overhead smoke hole by means of a pole connecting the roof with the ground. After the ceremony, the ritual objects and the bear's bones are taken out through the same smoke hole (Jochelson 1905-1908:462). Taksami's (1968:416) informants "account for not carrying the bear's head and skin through the door by the fact that menstruating women cross the threshold when entering the house". In Sternberg's (1933) opinion, this is an evidence of the presence of a roof entrance in the Nivkh pithouse in the past (Taksami 1968:416).

Archaeological data as well as those of oral traditions indicate that in the past the pithouse was the predominant architectural type throughout northeast Asia and beyond it. In most parts of Siberia pithouses were replaced by portable conical tents as a consequence of the gradual change from hunting to reindeer-breeding as a dominant economic activity. The process was very gradual and consisted of progressive synthesis of the northern culture, characterized by reindeer-hunting and the use of pithouses, with that of the immigrants from the south who introduced the domestication of the reindeer and the conical tent suitable for the nomadic life. Architecturally, the slow space of the synthesis is manifested by both the simultaneous use of pithouses and conical tents among single ethnic groups for a prolonged period of time (cf. Alekseenko 1967: 89-101 for the Ket of western Siberia, Tugolukov 1979:87 for the Yukaghir of eastern Siberia) and the incorporation of structural elements of the pithouse into the conical tent. It is probable that with the exception of Japan where pithouses were less deep than in continental northeast Asia because of milder winters, the subterranean dwellings were generally of the roof-entrance type everywhere in northeast Asia including the Korean Peninsula (Derevianko 1981:77). Simchenko (1976:152-167) has argued for the continuity in the development from the roof-entrance pithouse to the conical tent or other ground-level structures in western and partly eastern Siberia, and his main points are the following: 1. Archaeological data indicate the existence of roof-entrance pithouses similar to those of the Koryak type in a number of locations in western Siberia. The dwellings of several modern ethnic groups in that region are of the same basic structure, except for their smaller size and their construction on the ground with a lateral entrance. During funeral rituals, however, the top of the roof assumes the role of the door (pp. 154-155). 2. The terminology of architectural features of the earlier sedentary people's pithouses were transferred to the portable new types (p. 158; cf. suggestions of the etymology of the Uralic terms for 'house' stemming from the verb 'to dig' in Ivanov 1951:74, Sem

1973:39). 3. Legends and myths about earlier peoples consistently stress that the heroes entered and left dwellings through the smoke hole. The origin of many of the legends appears to be relatively recent (p. 159). 4. There are indications in idiomatic language use of the present-day peoples of western Siberia and the Evenk (Tungus) of eastern Siberia that the dwellings are still conceptualized as underground structures. Among the Nenets, the expression "to descend from the mountain" signifies 'to sit near the fire'. Among the Nganasan who prefer not to speak directly about the hearth, moving away from the hearth is expressed by "climbing out from the house", "going to the mountains", "going up", "sitting up", while moving toward the fire corresponds to such expressions as "descend from the mountain", "crawl into the hole", "go down", etc. The Evenk use the expression "up the slope" and "down the slope" in the same meaning as the west Siberian peoples do (p. 162). 5. Shamanistic rituals among contemporary Siberian peoples involve the shaman climbing up the main pole of the tent which connects the ground behind the hearth with the smoke hole, signifying his flight to heaven. A carved figure of a bird on the top of this pole characterizes the tent of the Evenk and other peoples of Siberia. The ritual function of this pole is analogous to that of the ladder in the pithouses of the Paleoasiatic sea-mammal hunters (p. 163).

It is thus evident that verticality, the focal direction in spatial symbolism, is closely connected with the subterranean nature of a dwelling. Materialized in the form of a ladder or a notched pole, it is important as a means of communication with the outer world, and is associated with the equally important overhead opening which functions as a borderline between the lower interior and the upper exterior. The lateral entrance, which is the other point of communication with the exterior, is of a profane nature. In ground-level structures access is gained through the lateral entrance by both sexes in daily life, and the vertical direction has an exclusively ritual character.

In contrast to the roof-entrance pithouses, in ground-level dwellings the only space utilized in daily life is the horizontal

floor, and therefore a horizontal axis is used to determine the stratification of space rather than the vertical one, i.e. the central-back column or pole, which is used solely for ritual purposes. The gradation of spatial value is achieved by applying the criterion of verticality horizontally, along the axis that runs from the lateral (front) entrance to the point directly opposite it. A tendency of horizontal spatial stratification has already been noticed, though rather vaguely, in the Paleoasiatic pithouse: the area attached to the tunnel entrance or foreroom is valued the least, and the highest valued area is the elevated platform opposite it that serves as a seat-of-honor.

An example from an Evenk ritual dwelling will be given as an introduction to the discussion of the synonymy of the concepts of horizontality and verticality on the horizontal plane in Siberia. Anisimov (1963) describes a tent built especially for a shamanistic ritual of the Evenk. He does not specify whether his description concerns any or one particular ritual, but since the tent is oriented with its entrance east and upriver and its sacred area west and downriver, which is contrary to the normal Evenk practices, it seems that it is a particular ritual focusing on the lower world (KHERGU). The structure is the same as that of an ordinary residential tent, but instead of the main pole between the hearth and the rear wall, a larch tree (TURU) is erected, with its bottom touching the ground and its top drawn through the smoke hole with its branches above the tent. According to Anisimov (p. 86), this tree has two functions: it plays the role of the guardian spirit of the tent, and serves as a ladder the shaman climbs to the upper world. "In the shaman's concept, the TURU larch symbolized the shamanistic world tree" connecting the underworld (roots), the middle world (trunk) and the upper world (top). A similar practice has been observed in south Siberia among the Altayans, Buryats and other peoples who during rituals erect a tree in the middle of the tent, with notches carved in it to facilitate the shaman's ascent. With the notches, the tree is perceived as the shaman's way to heaven; without them, it is the heaven itself (Schmidt 1940-1941:967), thus having a similar

function as the tree in the Evenk shamanistic tent.

Anisimov states that the larch tree may also be placed horizontally on top of the tent. This correlates with the fact that the axis which connects the upperworld, middle world and underworld is also conceived horizontally in the Evenk shamanistic tent. The tent again symbolizes the middle world, and may be interpreted as "the shaman's island in the middle of the mythical shamanistic clan-river, the headwaters of which were thought to be in the upper world (UGU), the middle course of which ran on the earth (DULYU, 'the middle world'), and the mouth of which was in the lower world (KHERGU)" (p. 87). The tripartite universe of the Evenk is expressed by one more set of symbols in the vicinity of the tent. On the eastern (upperworld) side and the western (underworld) side of the shamanistic tent stand fences of larch trees; in the eastern row the live trees are turned upside down, with their roots in the air and the tops underground, in the western row the roots of dead trees are underground. This is explained by the fact that each world is a point of reference for itself; i.e., both worlds face the middle world and therefore the upperworld trees grow upside down (pp. 87-88). The tent is again the middle world between the fences. The verticality of the fence symbols again have their horizontal analogy: on the top of the two fences larch trees are lain horizontally, the roots pointing eastward on the eastern fence as if growing from that direction, and westward on the western fence.

It is therefore obvious that verticality and horizontality fulfill analogous functions in the Evenk shamanistic tent. The river is the same axis mundi as the vertical tree, and the latter has the same or similar symbolism in a horizontal position. The dwelling is surrounded by fences in which principles of verticality play the same role as those of horizontality. The simultaneous existence of a horizontal and vertical universe among the Evenk and other Siberian ethnic groups has traditionally been attributed to different culture-historical strata; however, such a view has recently been criticized (cf. Novik 1984:157).



It has already been shown that the vertical axis, i.e. the ladder or notched pole in the Paleoasiatic maritime hunters' pithouses is closely associated with the symbolism of the smoke-hole entrance. If the horizontal (front-back) axis is analogous to the vertical one in the ground-level dwellings, what is then the horizontal representation of the sacred smoke hole? Obviously, it cannot be the ordinary (lateral) entrance which, as cited above, is unworthy of the Koryak man's dignity and which is never used in Nivkh rituals as it is considered polluted. This question has been touched upon by Raenk (1949:208-209) and he correctly suggests that the ritual window or door opposite the general entrance is characterized by identical symbolism as that of the overhead smoke hole.

It has been mentioned above that in the Nivkh winter pithouse during the bear ceremony, the bear's head and skin are passed inside the dwelling through the smoke hole in the roof. The bear ceremony is performed exclusively in winter; however, there are numerous other ceremonies held in summer when the Nivkh occupy a dwelling built on the ground. Rather than climb to the roof, the ceremonial objects are passed through a window on the side opposite the entrance (Taksami 1968:415). The orientation of this window is upstream, therefore toward the mountains, which is believed to be the divine world. As mentioned above, the ordinary door side is throughout Siberia referred to as the "rear" and its opposite side as the "front", because it is the point of view of the deities who use that side for entering and departing the dwelling that determines its inhabitants' orientation.

The ritual nature of this window is clearly demonstrated in the Ainu dwelling. The missionary Batchelor (1901:123-124) describes it as follows:

"The east window is a blessed thing and of great importance. When the highest deities are worshipped, or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also when the INA0 (or INAU, i.e. ritual shaved sticks, RZ) are to be placed among the NUSA (ritual fence outside the window, RZ), they should be made and

consacrated by the hearth and then passed through the window. So, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed, it ought always be taken into the house through the east window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by some INAO KUSH PUYARA, i.e. 'the window through which INAO pass'; and KAMUI KUSH PUYARA, i.e. 'the window through which divine beings pass'."

The interior side of the sacred or rear window is ritually the most important area of the dwelling and is reserved for the visiting deities among which, in southern Hokkaido and Sakhalin, the bear is the most important.

A ritual fence or a pole behind this side of the dwelling where the window is often located, emphasizes that the vertical direction is especially associated with that horizontal direction. The Ainu NUSA fence which consists of poles with skulls of wild animals, especially the bear, on top of them, appears to be derived from the same concept as the ritual fence of the Evenk shaman's tent. One long pole between two short ones stands behind the dwellings of the inhabitants of the Amur and Maritime Regions, such as the Tungusic-speaking Ulchi and Nanay who refer to these poles by a term related to the Evenk cosmic tree. Among the Nivkh, such poles of larch trees may be erected outside the house (Sternberg 1933:311-313) or, after the bear ceremony, inside the pithouse behind the hearth, protruding from the smoke hole (Schrenck 1891:733). As among the Ainu, the function of this pole is to communicate with the divine world; most commonly, to send the killed animal's soul to the upperworld of the mountains.

The sacred window is thus closely connected with hunting which is exclusively a male activity. The Ainu hunting and fishing implements are always taken out by this window. The Evenk make a temporary opening on the side opposite the entrance during hunting rituals (Shirokogoroff 1935). This phenomenon is also widespread in western Siberia, either in the form of a window (e.g. Ob-Ugrians) or a door (Samoyedic peoples). It is especially evident in the Lapp tent where every hunting trip begins and ends at the ritual door opposite the general entrance, and women are

prohibited to approach it (for detailed discussion and analysis of the Lapp ritual door, see Raenk 1949:194-224, 1951:134-139). Two doors opposite each other have been reported by Krasheninnikov (1972:213) for the summer high pile-dwelling of the Itelmen who normally live in pithouses; it may be inferred that one of the doors fulfills the ritual function of the roof entrance which is obviously absent in a raised-floor structure.

The notion of the ritual door or window as a horizontal representation of its counterpart that pertains to the vertical axis is further reinforced by its relation to the exterior world or macrocosm. In many areas of northeast Asia, the basic criterion for orientation is the upriver/downriver, in extension mountain/sea axis, rather than cardinal points or any other criteria (cf. Obayashi 1973). The orientation of the dwelling likewise follows these two basic directions, which is particularly evident in those rectangular dwellings that possess a roof ridge, as the ridge is generally oriented in parallel with the course of a river. The general door thus faces the downward direction while the sacred window faces the upward direction toward the mountains, which is a superior direction for a number of northeast Asian ethnic groups that emphasize hunting in their economy. All these notions are symbolically expressed in the microcosm of the dwelling, which also consists of a low and a high section, despite its physically level floor. The boundary between high and low in the macrocosm is, like the Evenk shaman's tent between the upper and lower worlds, the house itself, while in the microcosm the boundary is the hearth. In northeast Asia, as elsewhere, the house and the hearth are interchangeable concepts. (But it will be shown below that in certain contexts, the hearth is associated with the downward direction.)

The relationship between verticality and horizontality in the northeast Asian dwelling is clearly visible in the concrete example of the concept of MALU. This term has several phonetic variants, e.g. MALE, MALI, MALAE, MOLAE, MALO, MOLO, MARO, MOLU, MULU, MUL, MULI and MAL, though MALU is the most common. The meanings include the sacred space in the dwelling which in most

cases is located opposite the entrance, the house-protecting deity, a pole or column and the roof ridge. In most languages that possess this term, it is used in at least two of these meanings. Its use is the most widespread among the Tungusic-language-speaking peoples, i.e. Evenk, Even, Orochon, Oroch, Nanay, Ulchi, Negidal, Udehe and Manchu, but also among the Koreans and the Uralic-speaking Ob-Ugrians (Khanty and Mansi) of western Siberia.

Among the Evenk, MALU refers to the seat-of-honor and cult place located opposite the entrance behind the hearth in the tent. It "usually remains unoccupied by the family members except for single and honored old men. The 'placings' for spirits are kept in this place", and menstruating women are forbidden to enter this area or walk around it outside the tent (Shirokogoroff 1929:255-256) (Fig. 59 a). The term MALU also refers to a "spirit complex" associated with the cult area (Shirokogoroff 1935:151-153). This "complex" is represented by figurines depicting human beings, animals, birds, the sun, moon, morning star, evening star, etc., and has several functions including household and clan protection, securing success in hunting and assisting the shaman. There is a great regional variation in the nature of the MALU "complex", e.g. among the Transbaikalian Evenk it is identified with a reindeer deity; Shirokogoroff surmises that the origin of various components of this "complex" is heterogeneous and it became a single class at a certain point of time. Exactly the same position of the MALU as in the conical tent, like the basic arrangement of space, has been reported for the Evenk of the Yablonovy and Stanovoy Mountains (in earlier Russian literature known as the "Walking Tungus" as opposed to the "Mounted" and "Sedentary" ones) who construct square log or bark dwellings (Vasilevich 1960:35) (Fig. 59 b). In the tent of the Orochon, an ethnic group related to the Evenk, opposite the entrance is the sacred seat MARO or MALU with several layers of fur on it, which is reserved for high-ranking guests. The restriction against all women approaching this area is scrupulously adhered to. Behind it are representation of house deities (Izumi 1937:54-55) (Fig. 59 c). Shamans' trips to the upperworld, represented by an eastern morning star twenty-seven

larches distant begin in MALU (Mazin 1984:10-11). Similarly, the MALU in the conical tent or square log cabin of the Oroch of Sakhalin Island is reserved for a respected visitor, but normally is left vacant in order not to disturb the deities who occupy this place. Behind it is an altar with wooden representation of the sun and the divine entrance that faces the mountains (Kawamura 1983:16, Yamamoto 1979:172). MALO opposite the entrance is reserved for male guests and is the focus of the male half of the Nanay dwelling of any form, whether it is the winter dwelling of the Manchu or north Chinese form with the k'ang benches, the summer pile-dwelling or the square log-cabin used on hunting expeditions. Meetings concerning male affairs, such as hunting or clan matters, are held in the MALO area. The house deity is believed to inhabit this area, and pregnant and postpartum women are not allowed to enter (Sem 1973:61). The MALI or MALU k'ang bench in the Ulchi dwelling is of a similar character to the corresponding section of the above-mentioned ethnic groups; its significance can be seen during rituals such as the bear ceremony (Ivanov 1951:111, Zolotarev 1937:117). No culture-historical explanation can at this stage be offered for the occurrence of the term MULI or MUL, signifying the place opposite the entrance, under the sacred window through which the head of the killed bear is passed, where only men are allowed to sit, and where the household altar is located, among the Ugrians of the upper Ob river in the western extreme of Siberia (Ivanov 1951:112, Raenk 1949:136).

A ritual space called MALU is found also in the Korean dwellings, and it has been suggested that it has been diffused to the Peninsula from the north in association with a type of dwelling that has locally developed into a single-row structure i.e. a building in which rooms are arranged in such a way that they form one line (Chang 1984:312), although other scholars believe that only the MALU was introduced from the north while the general architectural structure is of a local origin (Mishina 1973:379, Li 1983:167-168). This type of dwelling is characteristic in the western part of the Peninsula; however, in most areas it has

undergone numerous changes under various influences. The area where the space arrangement is the most comparable to that found in Siberia (Fig. 57), and where the space MALU preserves its ritual significance, are the islands off the southwestern corner of the Peninsula. The following description concerns a peasant house in the village of Ch'ilchon on Chindo Island. It is a typical dwelling for the area, except that the MALU in other villages consistently faces the eastern rather than the western direction (Fig. 56).

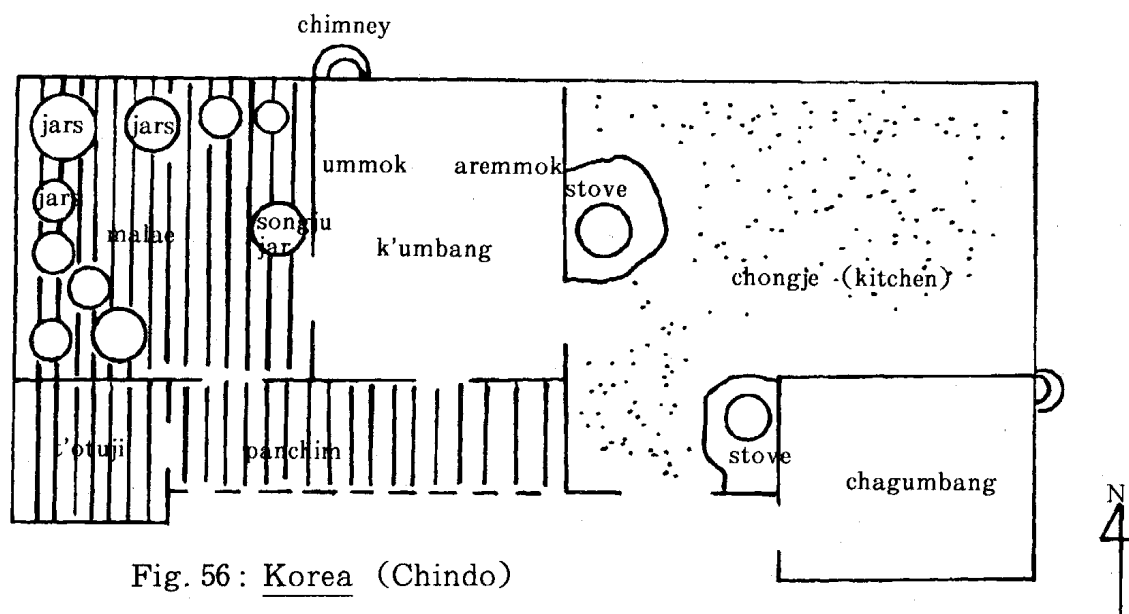


Fig. 56: Korea (Chindo)

The major rooms of the dwelling are: 1. MALAE (in other dialects MALI, in standard Korean MALU), a large uninhabited room with a planked floor, serving the purpose of a storage area, ceremonial space and residence of a house-protecting deity; 2. K'UMBANG or main room heated by the ONDOL pipe system and used by the married couple for sleeping; an invisible line divides this room into the UMMOK 'upper part' on the MALAE side and the AREMMOK 'lower part' opposite it; and 3. CHONGJE (in other dialects CHONGJI, in standard Korean PUOK) or kitchen with a dirt floor and stoves for cooking and heating of the ONDOL rooms. The two minor rooms are the T'OTUJI in front of the MALAE, an unheated room for storage of such foodstuffs as rice and barley, and the CHAGUMBANG in front of the CHONGJE, a small heated room generally used by the eldest son. A planked porch (PANCHIM) serves as an entrance to the MALAE and K'UMBANG. The floor of the porch and all the rooms

except the CHONGJE in this house is raised about 50 cm above the ground. Secondary buildings for economic purposes and for the residence of other members of the household and guests are found in the immediate vicinity of the main building.

Chang (1984:311) distinguishes three functions of the MALU (MALAE) in the southwest Korean dwelling. First, it is a space for ancestral rituals. Second, it is the sanctuary of SONGJU, a house-protecting deity to whom prayers for peace and health in the house, a safe journey of a family member, etc., are made, and as such, it is the purest and holiest place in the house. Third, it functions as a storage area for grain that is kept in seven or eight large jars. However, it is not necessary to view the three categories distinguished by Chang as separate entities, because the guardian deity SONGJU contains the three elements in its character; i.e., it functions simultaneously as an ancestral deity, a house protector and an agricultural deity. It is represented by a jar which is filled with rice for the greater part of the year and is ritually replenished each autumn.

A dictionary defines the Korean term MALU as follows: "1. a wooden floor. (...) 2. a ridge. CHIBUNG MALU the ridge of a roof. SAN MALU the ridge of a mountain. 3. the final or most important part (the climax) of an event. (...)" (Martin et al. 1967:561). Equivalent 1 refers to the secularized notion of MALU as common in the Seoul area. Equivalents 2 and 3 can obviously be considered to be a single concept. In the dialect of Chindo Island the variants 2 and 3 are pronounced as MOLAE, thus distinguished from MALAE by a vowel change. The interviewed inhabitants of Chindo consistently recognized the semantic as well as phonetic kinship between MOLAE and MALAE, and described the former as roof ridge and by extension mountain top, the sun, sky, etc. The polysemic character of this term is consistent with the fact that the guardian spirit SONGJU whose altar is in the ritual room is especially associated with the roof ridge and often is referred to as the "spirit of the ridge beam" (Vos 1977:83). In addition to the above, two more aspects indicate the interrelationship and the consistency of the system of symbolism concerning the Korean

house: 1. According to Akamatsu and Akiba, the terms MALU or MAUL in the southern part of the Peninsula refer not only to the ancestral ritual space of the dwelling but also the sacred rice jar enshrining the ancestors themselves (cited from Mishina 1973:383), thus it is synonymous with the term SONGJU (lit. 'master of castle') which is a relatively recent coinage based on Chinese characters. 2. The ancestral and guardian spirit jar is not placed on the floor of the MALAE but rather on a shelf near the top of the main post which is erected between the MALAE and the neighboring K'UMBANG. The domestic ritual SONGJU KUT (SONGJU enshrinement) generally involves a shamaness making an offering to the post from the MALAE room. The complex of beliefs concerning the concept of MALAE/MALU in the southwest Korean dwelling may thus be summarized as focusing on a vaguely conceived deity of an ancestral and agricultural character whose association with the sky is architecturally symbolized by the roof ridge, and with whom communication is made from a domestic ritual space through the main column. This side of the dwelling is consequently considered to be high, and in daily parlance of the inhabitants of Chindo Island, "up" refers to "toward the MALAE", while "down" implies "toward the kitchen". As mentioned above, the K'UMBANG or living/sleeping room is correspondingly divided into an upper and a lower part. Hence the gradation of spatial value along the

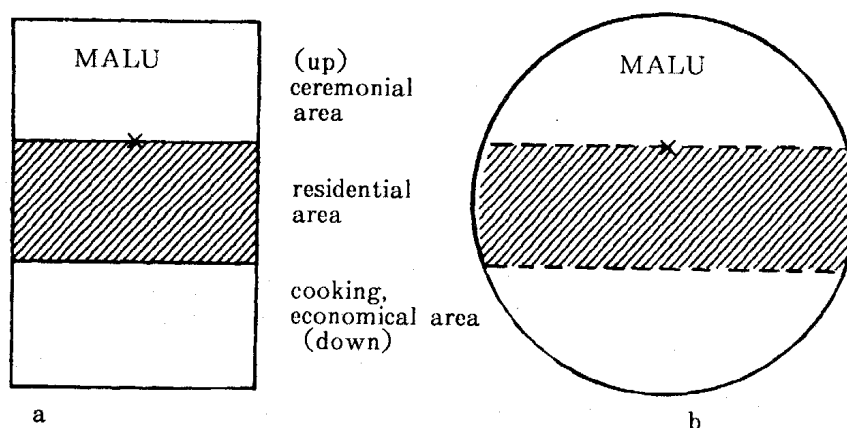


Fig. 57 : Schematic comparison of the dwelling space in the Korean (south-western extreme) house (a) with that in the Evenk tent (b)  
X = main column (a) ; main pole (b)



longitudinal axis characteristic for the east Siberian dwellings is present in the Korean house as well, and is likewise based on the symbolism of verticality. Further analysis of the term MALU among the Tungus-Manchu-speaking peoples illustrates its basic semantic unity with Korea, and indicates the incorporation of both the horizontal and the vertical notions in it.

The ridge beam which is found on all types of Nanay dwelling structures except the conical fishing hut is called MALU or MULU. This ridge and the column that connects it with the MALO area (GUSI) are both objects of worship (Sem 1973:43). According to Sternberg (1933:474), the most important house-protecting deity dwells in the GUSI column which is regarded as male and is located in the middle of the MALO, opposite the entrance and the female GUSI column. The name of this house deity is ZO-KOMO. Sternberg translates ZO as 'house' and KOMO as 'soul sui generis, something of the type of the American Indian manitou'. Lopatin (1922:79) provides another account of the house deities of the Nanay: "In the GUSI TORA (TORA - 'column') lives the house-protecting spirit, and in the MALU (MALO or MULIU 'the ridge of the roof') lives the spirit MALU (...). Both spirits are worshipped and sacrifice is offered to them. No important event may pass without the householders' notification and prayer to them." The GUSI column, which stands in front of the MALO bench, is masculine and during the marriage ceremony when the bride is brought in, the bridegroom with his male relatives prays before it, while the bride stays far from this ritual place, next to the door, during the whole ceremony. MALU is also conceptualized as an ancestral deity and a human figure (FANIA) is placed on the MALO (Lopatin 1922:82).

The architecture of the Ulchi dwelling is very similar to that of the Nanay and names of its various sections are analogous; however, the house-protecting spirit is not associated with the GUSI column but rather with the DAIMO 'ridge'/MALI column (Ivanov 1951:85). The dwelling of the Manchu is also of the same basic type characterized by the k'ang type of heating. The location of the seat-of-honor and household altar corresponds to that of the Amur and Maritime Region ethnic groups, but it is called AMBA

NAHAN 'great k'ang' (Shirokogoroff 1924:95). The term MULU refers to the roof ridge (Sem 1973:61).

The MALU, MALE, MOLE etc. is therefore among all the above ethnic groups considered to be a part of dwelling closest to the divine, or "upper", world. The deity that is identified with this space is of a vague and flexible character: ancestral, house- and family-protecting and economical (agricultural in Korea, hunting elsewhere) functions are attributed to it. A whole "class" of multifunctional gods make up the MALU category among the Evenk. The comprehensive quality of the house or MALU deity is visible among the Nanay whose ZO-KOMO is characterized as a local manifestation of an omnipresent supernatural being. The guardian spirits of all these peoples thus transcend their function of protecting the household, and it may be surmised that the roof ridge represents the point of this transcendence. In other words, while the main pole or column serves the people to communicate with the divine world, the ridge may be considered as the divine world itself, where the deity is no longer a mere protector of the house. It has been mentioned above that the "world tree" in south Siberian shamanistic rituals has a double function, i.e. that of a staircase to the upperworld, and the upperworld itself. According to Raenk's (1949:139) unconfirmed suggestion, the Evenk MALU is associated with the ridge pole, which is a rather interesting proposition since the ridge is atypical for the majority of Evenk architectural forms. It may not be ruled (Anisimov is silent on this issue) that the Evenk horizontal larch tree emphasizes the upperworld, though its meaning of the ladder to the upperworld, synonymous with the vertical larch, is indisputable. Therefore, there are indications that the horizontal tree is the prototype of the roof ridge in northeast Asia. This view does not run counter the architectural indications of the roof developing directly from the conical structure in two cases. One points out the structural resemblance of a simple conical pithouse of the Japanese Jomon Period to that with a ridge, and suggests that a pole was placed horizontally among the ends of poles that protruded above the smoke hole, which altered the course of the

escaping smoke and protected the pit from rain (Domenig 1980:13-18, 96-117). The other is an ethnographic evidence of the Ainu roof being constructed in the form of two tripods of the Siberian tent type that support a ridge, thereby indicating the direct relationship between the conical structure and the roof with a ridge (Takabeya 1943:114-122, Obayashi 1957).

A partial analogy to the Tungusic and Korean notion of MALU is the Ainu TUNTU, which signifies the main support column on the sacred window side (SOPA corner) of the dwelling, a part of the roof and a house deity (also referred to as CHISE-KORO KAMUI 'house-owning deity') upon whom "the Ainu look (...) as not only IN the world, and holding it together but also OUTSIDE of it and making it, and therefore transcending it. He is its summit, center, and foundation, its originator and mighty 'support'" (Batchelor 1901:582-583). This deity's representation is generally attached to the column; however, in case of a threat to the house such as a near-by fire, it is moved to the ridge if the roof (Munro 1962:46). In Sakhalin Ainu pithouses, where the main TONTO column stands in the exact center of the dwelling, surrounded by the honorable area SOPA (Fig. 63 b), the representation of the house deity associated with the main column is erected directly above it, on the highest point of the roof (Yamamoto 1970:40).

Considering the horizontalization of vertical symbolism in the northeast Asian dwellings, it is also necessary to briefly mention the lowest point of the axis. In the Paleoasiatic pithouses, the top is the smoke hole and the bottom is the hearth. However, a horizontal axis in these pithouses represents a secondary vertical axis, and thus cooking is invariably done on the "low" side of the hearth, i.e. near the foreroom or tunnel entrance. This corresponds with the situation in ground-level structures of northeast Asia as well, since the entrance area is consistently used as a kitchen. In cases where verticality is fully substituted by the horizontal axis of vertical symbolism, the fire itself tends to be located opposite the "highest" point of the axis. Thus, the stoves are placed opposite the MALU area in the Korean, Lower Amur and Maritime Region (e.g. Nanay, Ulchi) dwellings. Similar

pattern obtains in the Evenk square bark dwelling and Yakut log-cabin. The Hokkaido Ainu hearth is generally located in the center of the dwelling space but its focus, i.e. the residence of the hearth deity (KAMUI FUCHI), is on its "low" side, near the entrance and opposite the sacred window. The Sakhalin Ainu cooking stove is placed next to the entrance.

The line cross-cutting the dwelling from the "low" area of the entrance to the "high" area of the altar and seat-of-honor (in rectangular dwellings it is the longitudinal line parallel to the ridge) has so far been labeled as an "axis", but not in the sense of a symmetry-generating one, in contrast to the corresponding line in the dwelling of the northeast Asian pastoralists and agriculturalists (Altayans, Mongols, Yakuts etc.), i.e. Raenk's Type 2, where the corresponding line serves to divide the sexes. To investigate the problem of the dividing function of the longitudinal axis and its relation to the transverse axis that divides the sexes among the hunters and reindeer breeders (Raenk's Type 1) and indicates the rank division regardless of sex among the pastoralists and agriculturalists, it is necessary to briefly describe the general allocation of seats in the northeast Asian dwellings. Then it will be possible to appraise and modify Raenk's 3-type classification, and to discuss the determinants of individual variants.

The seating arrangement in the Koryak pithouse (Raenk's Type 3) on a ritual occasion follows a concentric pattern with men forming the inner circle around the fire and the vertical notched pole (ladder),

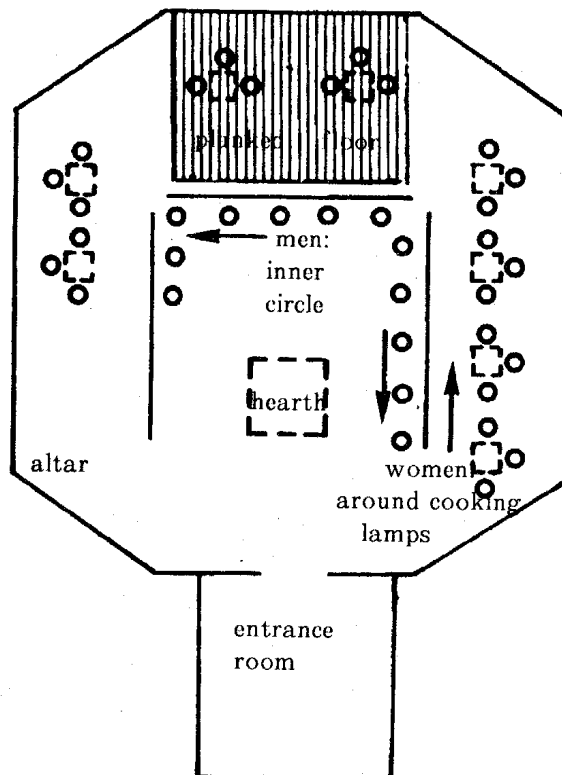


Fig. 58: Koryak. After  
Jochelson 1905-8:71, 453

and women forming the outer one around the inner side of the walls where they cook on whale-oil lamps. The concentric pattern is also evident in the fact that all the inhabitants of the pithouse sleep with their heads facing the center. The location of the guardian spirit is at front left; however, no reason is given for this location, nor is it explained whether this is an invariable location or a temporary one for the occasion of the particular ritual, in the case of Jochelson's report, the whale festival (Jochelson 1905-1908:71). In ordinary life in the Koryak pithouse, which shelters a number of related nuclear families, the back side is the seat and bed for visitors, generally male. It is the only part of the dwelling where the floor is made of planks and is elevated 30-60 cm. above the rest of the floor. The seat of the household head is on the right side of the seat of his brothers and relatives. The front of the pithouse and the foreroom are used for storage of kitchen utensils and other tools and usually are unoccupied. The concentric pattern is also obvious in daily life at meals whereby the men eat together in the inner circle around a single hearth, while their wives and children eat around the individual family oil lamps behind the men (Jochelson 1905-1908:745). No information is given on the seating arrangement in the Chukchi pithouse. The internal arrangement of the Itelmen pithouse which also accommodates a number of families is similar to that of the Koryak, with sitting and sleeping benches along the three sides of the wall and the foreroom side unoccupied. The only difference from the Koryak arrangement is that the planked floor in the back is reserved not for the guest but the master of the house (Starkova 1973:208). The household altar is located there (Raenk 1949:144).

As in the Koryak dwelling, the back and the front spaces of the conical tent and other structures of the hunters and reindeer breeders (Raenk's Type 1) are usually unoccupied, the back altar area accommodating only an elder of the same clan during his visit and the front a female visitor, or a son-in-law. In the latter case, such individuals are seated or accommodated on the left side immediately next to the door which is considered to be the lowest

place of the dwelling. In the Evenk tent and square bark dwelling, the right side is the seat of the household head who occupies the place closer to the back of the house (MALU), and his wife whose place is closer to the entrance. The housewife's section of the right side is also the residence of the women's deity of her native clan (NAJIL). Infants also stay in this section, but when they reach a certain age they move to the left side of the dwelling, to the back if they are male and to the front if they are female. Besides the children, the left side may also be occupied by the grandparents. The door side, though unoccupied, is considered to be the women's domain as cooking utensils are kept there. A diagonal pattern of opposition is discernible in this scheme. Among the seats of the residential part of the tent, i.e. right and left of the middle area, the status hierarchy is 1. back right, 2. back left, 3. front right, 4. front left (Shirokogoroff 1929:225-256). The household head's seat at back right is thus of the highest value, and it is located diagonally opposite the economic and non-resident female or daughter's seat. The diagonal pattern becomes even more obvious in the square bark dwelling of the "Walking Tungus" where the hearth is not located in the center but in the front left corner (Vasilevich 1960:35) (Fig. 59 b).

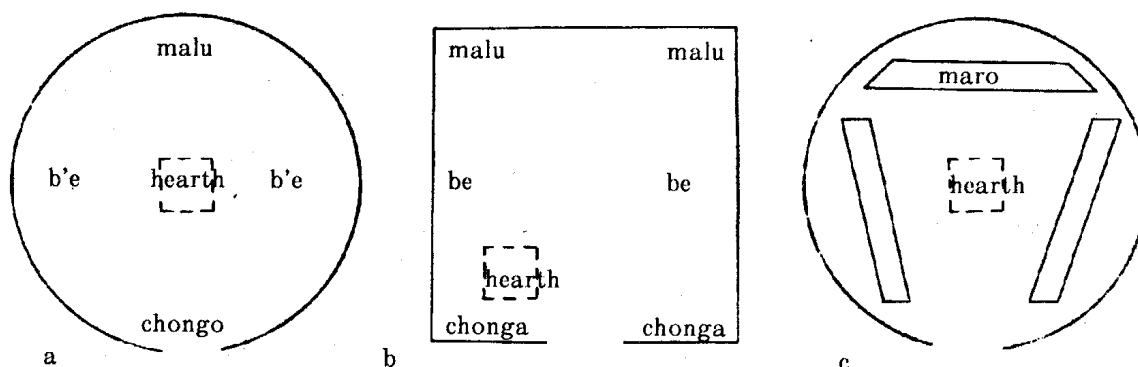


Fig. 59 (a) : Evenk. After Shirokogoroff 1929:220; (b) : Evenk. After Vasilevich 1960:35; (c) : Orochon. After Izumi 1937:54

This pattern of seating arrangement applies to most ethnic groups of northern Eurasia. Among those peoples whose dwelling (conical tent, log-cabin or pithouse) accommodates two nuclear families (e.g. the Ket of the Podkamennaya Tunguska and Ob Rivers), the seating arrangement is symmetrical on both sides of the front-

back axis; however, the right side is reserved for the higher-ranking senior family.

Data concerning the seating arrangement in the large winter houses, which are no longer constructed over pits but rather follow closely the type with the k'ang heating system prevalent among the Manchus and northern Chinese, of the Tungusic-speaking sedentary peoples of the Amur and Maritime Regions (Nanay, Ulchi, Udehe etc.) are rather confusing, although the fact that the back

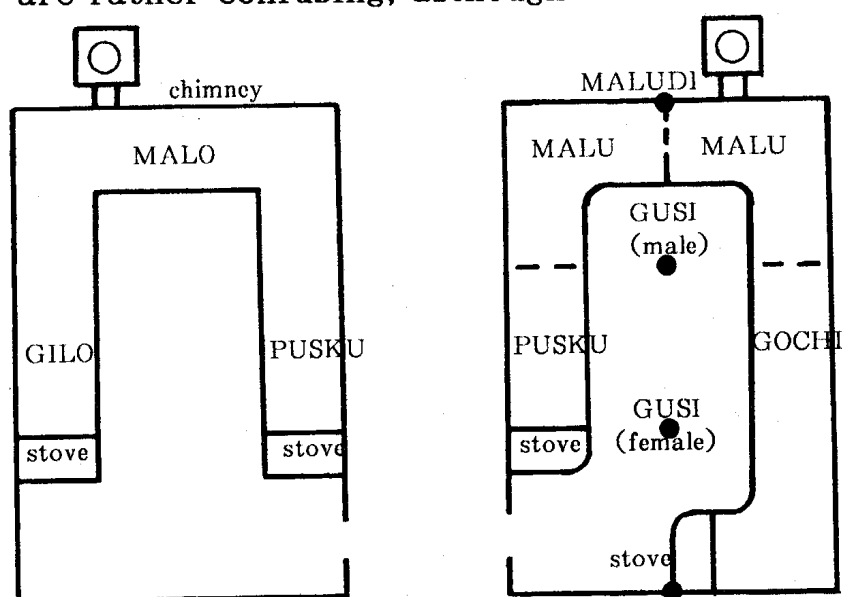


Fig. 60 (a) : Nanay. After Sem 1973:57; (b) : Ulchi.

After Zolotarev 1937: 114, Ivanov 1951:105, 111

side is masculine and daytime women's activities tend to gravitate around the entrance area where the heating and cooking stoves are located is not disputed. According to Lopatin's (1922:82) description of the Nanay dwelling, the allocation of space does not differ from that in the Evenk tent, i.e. the seat of the household head and his wife are on the right bench and those of the parents and children on the left. The sexual dichotomy corresponds with the division into the back and front sections and is symbolized by the male and female GUSI columns. Newer data, however, reveal no explicit male-female division in the house. Sem (1973:61), for example, reports that parts of the heated benches, including the MALU bench if no guests are present, are allocated to nuclear families (husband, wife, infants), and the senior families

occupy the edges of the benches in the front part of the dwelling. This is probably a consequence of the relatively recent introduction of the k'ang heating system, in which the warmest and hence most desirable parts are next to the stoves, while the coolest area is near the chimney at the back of the dwelling, near MALU which has thus lost some of its prestige. An analogous development has probably occurred in Korea where the seat of the household head is not the UMMOK ('upper part') next to the MALU as expected but rather in the AREMMOK ('lower part') on the kitchen side near the stove. This allocation of seats in Nanay and Ulchi dwellings that groups nuclear families together rather than divides the whole extended household by a sexual-dichotomy axis, may also be seen as a result of a possible influence of the space use in the large Manchu dwellings, in which the individual families that make up a residential unit are distributed in such a way as to conform to the complex rules of alternation of junior, senior and same-generation families (Shirokogoroff 1924:97).

The discussion of the Ainu dwelling in the next section will show a quadripartite pattern of space use, in which the sexual dichotomy is formed mainly by the transverse axis (i.e., coinciding with the back/front division), but also by its perpendicular longitudinal one, which assumes primary importance in the dwellings of some groups of the Ainu of Sakhalin Island. Such bisected dualism characterizes the division of space in dwellings of other ethnic groups of the same area. The conical tent of the Sakhalin Oroch, in which seats are designated by the same terms as those of the Evenk, has been described by Yamamoto (1979:172) and Kawamura (1983:63) as being composed of two sections separated by the entrance-MALU axis, one of which is male and the other female. The kitchen is located at the front diagonally opposite the household head's seat. Among the Amur river Oroch whose dwelling space is divided transversely into back/male (MALU) and front/female (entrance), the women are also identified with the left side which, as a result, gives them the front left corner as purely their own domain (Larkin 1964:47-48). The excavated dwellings in the Maritime Region dated to the 12-13th centuries A.D., which



reveal a close relationship with the dwellings of the modern peoples of that region, e.g. Ulchi, Nanay, Oroch, Udehe etc., may also have been of the same pattern.

"The largest number of such objects as beads, distaffs and ornaments of various sorts is usually located on the right k'ang and on the floor next to it. It permits to consider the right k'ang as belonging to the female half of the family. For the left and back k'angs characteristic are such objects as belt buckles (...), a hammer and an axe, (...). This permits to consider the left and back k'angs to be a place that belonged to the male half of the family." (Shavkunov 1973:85)

The male-female division, therefore, was probably distinguished not only by the transverse axis (back, front), but also by the longitudinal one (right, left).

This directly leads to the organization of space in the dwellings of the Mongol- and Turkic-speaking pastoral and to a degree agricultural peoples that Raenk designated as Type 2. As mentioned above, Raenk's criteria for distinguishing this type from Type 1 are that 1. the household altar is not placed directly opposite the entrance, but slightly to the left, and 2. the male-female division is not determined by the notions of back and front, but right and left.

Humphrey (1974:273) describes the division of space in the Mongol dome-shaped tent (yurt) as follows:

"The floor area of the tent was divided into four sections, each of which was valued differently. The area from the door, which faced south, to the fireplace in the center, was the junior or low-status half, called by the Mongols the "lower" half. The area at the back of the tent behind the fire was the honorific "upper" part, named the XOIMOR. This division was intersected by that of the male, or ritually-pure, half, which was to the left of the door as you entered, and the female, impure, or dirty section to the right of the door, up to the XOIMOR."

Two superior and two inferior halves are thus discernible in the Mongol tent, and although the altar in the tent observed by

Humphrey is located directly opposite the entrance, it is not difficult to infer why it tends to be drawn to the left.

The conical tent of the Altayans of south Siberia consists of the male and female halves on both sides, while the altar associated with the main pole is placed above the guest's seat-of-honor behind the hearth. The objects associated with female activities such as cooking utensils, tools for preparation of milk liquor, and women's saddles are kept on the right side (viewed from the entrance) near the door (Tikhonov 1984:58) (Fig. 61 a).

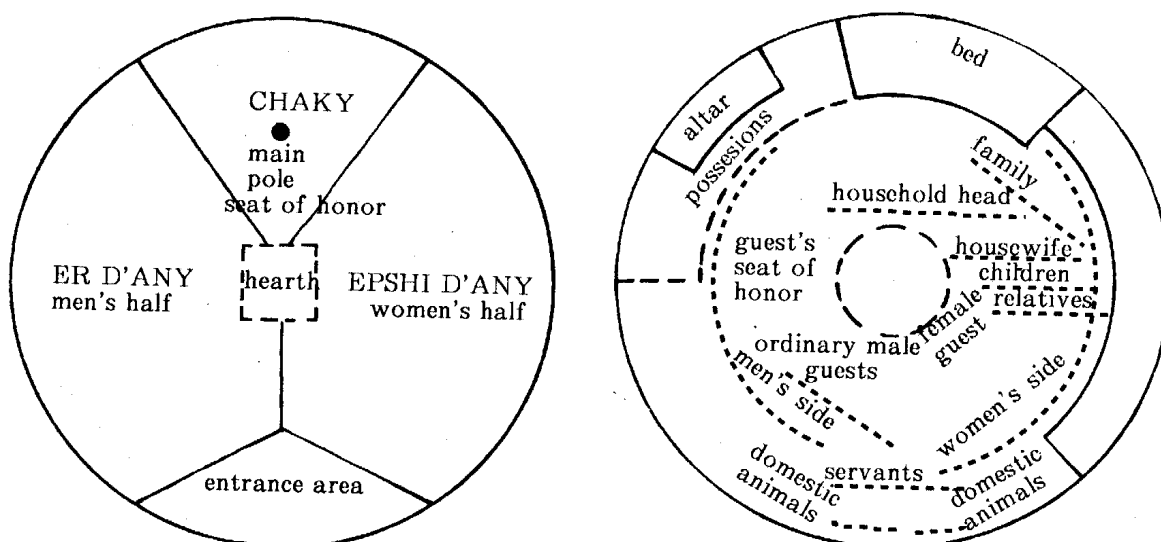


Fig. 61 : Altay. (a) : After Tikhonov 1984:58;

(b) : After Raenk 1951:71 (based on Radloff)

However, instances of the altar located at back on the left, i.e. male, side in the circular dwelling of the Mongol and Turkic peoples of northeast and central Asia are also abundant, even as local variants of the above-outlined Mongol and Altay dwellings. Raenk (1951:71) provides a plan of an Altayan dwelling in which the spatial value increases from the doorway toward the back i.e. domestic animals on both sides of the door, further on the right (women's) side female visitors, female relatives, children and finally the housewife, while on the left (male) side after the animals are the servants, ordinary guests and finally the guest of honor. The household head's seat is directly opposite the door, between the guest and the housewife. The altar and storage place of household possessions is located on the left side behind the

seat-of-honor (Fig. 61 b). Raenk selected this type of dwelling to represent his Type 2.

While the position of the household altar fluctuates between the point directly opposite the entrance and a space to the left of it in dwellings of the circular plan, in dwellings of the square plan it is invariably in the back left corner. The log-cabin of the Turkic speaking Yakut, who migrated from southern Siberia to the basin of the Lena River (the last wave was in the 14-15th centuries AD.), is a case in point. Chodzidlo (1940-1941:850-852) describes the allocation of space, clockwise from the entrance (Fig. 62), as follows:

The seat next to the door is unoccupied. The front seat at the left wall (1) accommodates "inferior visitors, beggars and male servants". The middle bench (2) also accommodates men, but those of a higher status. The back seat along the same wall (BILIRIK) (3) is considered to be superior to all others, and is occupied by the shaman, an Orthodox priest or other respected male guests. In the corner above it is the household's altar. Next to the BILIRIK at the back wall

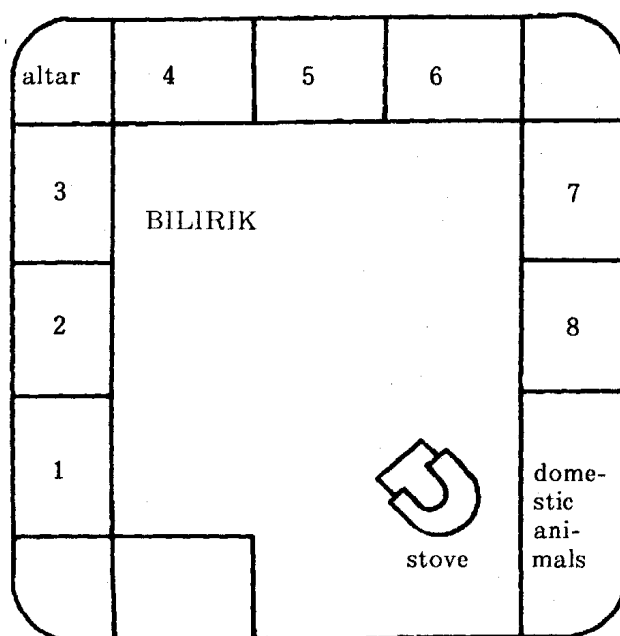


Fig. 62: Yakut. After Chodzidlo 1940-41:85

(based on Jochelson 1933)

is a bench generally used by the household head and his male relatives, and together with the BILIRIK forms a ceremonial corner of the dwelling, in which household and lineage rituals and meetings take place. In the middle of the back wall, directly opposite the entrance, is the bench on which the householding couple sleeps. From this bench further clockwise all the seats are reserved for women whose rank decreases toward the front. The benches near the front corner are generally unoccupied and

used mainly for storage of foodstuffs and cooking utensils. The hearth is located in the front corner, diagonally opposite the altar and the seat-of-honor.

The ground plan of the circular and square dwellings of the Mongol- and Turkic-speaking animal breeders and limited agriculturalists can therefore be schematically seen as being composed of bisected dualities, i.e. left/male and right/female on the one hand, and back/high status/family and front/low status/outside. This is the basis of Raenk's distinction of this type from that of the hunting and reindeer-breeding peoples, in which the two dualities coincide. Obviously, Raenk speaks only of tendencies; it has been shown above that his Type 1 is not an absolute entity as it contains elements of Type 2, conversely, in Type 2 the household head's seat is on the axis or even in some cases slightly to the right of it, thus laying grounds to the perception of the back side as male and the front with the kitchen located there as female, not unlike his Type 1. Nevertheless, it is a fact that while among the north Siberian peoples the housewife and other women have no access to the interior, the south Siberian women have their base (i.e. the housewife's seat) on one side of that area and only the space immediately attached to the altar is forbidden to them.

The social significance of this was pointed out by Chodzidlo (1940-1941:859) in respect to the Yakut dwelling: according to him, deities of the horse and horse husbandry are associated with the male side and the cardinal point to which it corresponds, and those of bovines which according to Chodzidlo belong to the sphere of agriculture and hence are women's concern, with the female side. Such a reasoning may imply that women's role in agriculture increases their status, denied to them in the non-agricultural north Siberia, and their improved status is spatially manifested by their full access into the interior of the dwelling. Such suggestion would agree with Raenk's (1949:165-176, 184-194) and Paulson's (1952:65) assertion that the reason for access to the interior of the dwelling being denied to women in northern Siberia is that the interior is intimately connected with the hunting

ritual, i.e. an exclusively male activity, and the presence of women would have a negative effect on hunting and well-being of the patrilineage. However, neither Raenk nor Paulson elaborated this line of argumentation beyond the hunters and reindeer breeders of northern Siberia.

To ascertain the feasibility of reasoning that an important economic role of women improves their status spatially in the house, it is necessary to examine relevant data from a fully agricultural people of the region, i.e. the Koreans, rather than from peoples in whose economy agriculture is of a marginal concern. It has been mentioned above that the MALU (MALAE) of southwestern Korea is analogous to the space designated by the same or similar terms in dwellings of the Evenk, Nanay and other Tungus-Manchu-speaking peoples of eastern Siberia, being a ceremonial and "high" space as well as the residence of the house-protecting deity. However, there is a difference in the character of this space in Korea from that in Siberia. While among the Siberian peoples the MALU is a male space associated with masculine activities such as hunting, the Korean MALU on ritual occasions becomes a female space associated with agricultural activities. As mentioned above, SONGJU, the house-protecting deity characterized by agricultural and ancestral qualities, is represented by a jar filled with rice which is placed on a shelf high on the main column of the MALE/MALAE room. All the domestic calendrical rituals (MYONGJOL) are held in MALU and directed to SONGJU, and the practitioner is the housewife, an old woman of the household or a female shaman (MUDANG). The rice which is inserted in the jar during the ritual of enshrining SONGJU (SONGJU KUT), is threshed by the housewife who subsequently prays to it each year at a replenishing ceremony. Prayers and offerings to SONGJU are given by the housewife at every stage of cultivation work, especially at transplanting of seedlings and harvest, and also at weddings, childbirth and birthdays in the household. The first crop and first meat of animals slaughtered at home are offered by the housewife to SONGJU before consumption. In case of sickness in the family, the housewife or old women perform rituals in MALU.

All the forms of household ritual are transmitted from the older housewife to the in-marrying bride (Ito 1983:196-199).

Analogous notions and practices exist in other parts of the Korean Peninsula, although the ancestral aspect of the domestic rituals assumes a distinct masculine character and strictly follows Confucian prescriptions. In the eastern part of the Peninsula dwellings lack the ceremonial space MALU, and the tendency there is to differentiate the back space, determined not by the transverse but by the longitudinal (ridge) axis, from the front one. The back space (K'UMBANG/ANPANG/KOBANG) is characterized by women's activities and domestic and agricultural cults of the "little tradition" (the deity SHINJU that resides there is probably analogous to SONGJU of southwest Korea), and the front space (SARANGBANG) by men's activities, formal gatherings and rituals according to the Confucian teaching and other public activities (Chang 1984:308, Kim 1984:323-324). The application of Raenk's and especially Paulson's extended argument on the use of dwelling space among the northeast Asian agriculturalists, i.e. Koreans, thus appears workable. However, other factors, including culture-historical ones, are as significant as the economic ones and must also be taken into consideration.

Following is a summary of the patterns in the organization of dwelling space in northeast Asia.

The seating arrangement in the large multi-family pithouses of northeast Asia is concentric, with the circle of men closer to the fire and to the ladder, and that of women peripheral. It suggests an analogy with concentric settlements where men spend much of their time in the centrally located men's house and merely visit their families (e.g. New Guinea). In both the concentric dwelling and concentric settlement, men eat and sleep together, while their families eat and sleep apart around their individual hearths. In the Paleoasiatic pithouse, the male guest's seat-of-honor or the household head's seat is at the back, opposite the entrance, hence one more focal point, besides the vertical center, is evident. This modifies Raenk's suggestion that the organization of space in the Paleoasiatic pithouses is close to being amorphous, although it is

a fact that in daily life when no ceremonies are held, the pattern appears to be more flexible than in, say, the Evenk tent. Hence, two features characterize this types of dwelling: 1. concentric, dominated by the vertical direction which is represented by the ladder (this feature is not recognized by Raenk), and 2. symmetric according to the transverse axis, as men tend to gravitate toward the back which is the location of the seat-of-honor and women toward the front, the provisions of food being stored in the foreroom. The elevated floor at the back of the pit may suggest some notions of verticality attributed to the horizontal foreroom-seat-of-honor axis.

Both directions, i.e. toward the top and toward the back, are venerated in the ground-level dwelling of the northern hunters and reindeer-breeders, generally a conical tent or an angular bark or log cabin; however, not being a pithouse with a roof entrance, the horizontal direction toward the back assumes prominence. The internal order is very similar to that in the Paleoasiatic peoples' pithouses, but its smaller size accommodating only one nuclear or stem or two nuclear families, which is required by the nomadic way of life, does not allow the formation of the concentric pattern. However, the concentric pattern does not disappear entirely, but rather transforms itself with the relocations of the main pole toward the back wall, which agrees with the fusion of the vertical and horizontal axes. Thus, the back becomes the symbolic center of the dwelling, strictly defined as the male space, while women assume the peripheral position which is manifested by the front of the dwelling. The horizontal tendency in the Paleoasiatic pithouse is thus elaborated in the ground-level dwelling. Concepts of horizontality and verticality are fused in the ridge on the top of rectangular structures, and its directions is parallel with the front back axis. (It must be added that the notion of a ridge conceptualized vertically is not limited to northeast Asia; cf. the ridge in the dwelling of the south American Tukano: "Although it is laid horizontally, it has the meaning of a 'ladder' that penetrates the cosmic levels and forms an axis"- Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:106. It has been noted

above that the dwelling of the Batak contains carvings of vertical trees, but is conceived as a horizontally placed tree, etc.).

This type of dwelling is also characterized by a distinct quadripartite pattern, which is composed of two bisected halves. An obvious example from the Evenk dwelling is that back is superior to front and right is superior to left, therefore the opposition between fully superior and fully inferior is expressed by a diagonal line running between back right (household head's seat) and front left (kitchen). This pattern becomes increasingly evident in the dwellings of peoples inhabiting areas to the south of the northern hunters (Orok, Ainu, some Amur peoples), where not only the superior-inferior, but also other opposition sets such as male-female and back-front become duplicated perpendicularly, a result of which is an even more sharply defined diagonal line of opposition (cf. the discussion of the Ainu dwelling space in the next section). An architectural catalyst is the relocation of the principal column and hence the symbolic center of the dwelling to a back corner in rectangular structures. At one end of this diagonal line, which is the sum of the quadripartite oppositions, is the altar, while the other end serves economic purposes, generally as a kitchen, and the door is often located there.

Further elaboration of quadripartite relations has led to the complete axial inversion of sexual dichotomy in the dwellings of southern Siberia and Mongolia (Raenk's Type 2), both circular and rectangular ones. Again, the diagonal principle of the altar versus a profane zone (kitchen) appears particularly in rectangular forms, but is clearly visible in circular ones as well. The shift of emphasis from the transverse to the longitudinal axis that separates the sexes may be attributed, among other factors, to the spatial reflection of the elevation of the status of women, based on the division of labor by sex.

The Korean dwelling reflects spatially the highest status attained by women in northeast Asia. Since it to a remarkable degree corresponds with the space use in the Japanese dwellings, it will be discussed again after the next section that deals with the Japanese dwelling.



#### 2.3.4 SUMMARY

The insufficiency of literary data forbids the formation of a clear picture of the dwelling space in mainland southeast Asia; however, the available facts indicate that despite the correspondence in architectural features with insular southeast Asia, the reflection of sexual dichotomy in domestic space differs greatly. Namely, it is possible to interpret this difference as a symbolic manifestation of the emphasis of the male principle in the domestic space. Like in insular southeast Asia, the interior of the dwelling is superior to its peripheral sections in the western parts of mainland southeast Asia, but while in insular southeast Asia it is a zone of feminine activities and under women's control, in mainland southeast Asia it is associated with male occupancy. The agricultural symbolism is rather weak or non-existent within the dwelling, and unlike in the former case it does not appear to be identified exclusively with the female sex. In correspondence with the lack of agricultural symbolism in the dwelling, the house and the granary tend to be separate concepts in most parts of the western and mountainous southeast Asian mainland. Both the storage of valuables and the altar to a generally non-agricultural house-protecting and ancestral deity are located in the interior of the dwelling, in proximal association with the male seat-of-honor. In contrast with insular southeast Asia, the space occupied by women is simultaneously a public area of the dwelling which is passed by all the persons, including visitors, on their way to the interior of the house.

Similarly, the space in the Chinese dwelling emphasizes the area opposite the entrance (gate), where the altar is located. No section of the space is identifiable as a specifically feminine domain; this concerns also the kitchen where an altar to a non-agricultural and non-feminine deity is located and where men have full access. In north China, the kitchen is located on the front (entrance) side of the dwelling, suggesting that the basic sexual dichotomy may be comparable with that in houses of mainland

southeast Asia as well as Siberia. This is supported by the seating arrangement of household members which heavily favors the members of the male sex by allocating them the interior seats. The Chinese dwelling space use suggests a certain affinity, or resemblance, to that of the northern ethnic groups.

Among the peoples of eastern Siberia, both the altar and the storage of household possessions are, or at least tend to be, on the male side of the dwelling interior. Among the hunting and reindeer-breeding peoples, the value of the interior (back) part of the dwelling is closely associated with hunting ritual and symbolism. The space in the pastoral (except reindeer) and secondarily agricultural peoples' dwellings also favors the male element, but to a lesser extent than among the hunting peoples, as women have access to the interior, though generally not to the altar itself.

The Korean dwelling spatially confers much importance to the woman, which can be seen in her occupancy of the interior and her role in domestic agricultural rituals held in a ceremonial area of the house, and in other forms of the "little tradition". This puts the Korean dwelling space in contrast with the general pattern of continental eastern Asia.

The quadripartite pattern dominates in most of the forms of spatial arrangements in mainland southeast, east and northeast Asian dwellings. A notable exception are the pithouses of the Paleoasiatic peoples of the northeastern-most parts of Asia, in which the dominant pattern is concentric, focused on the central vertical axis.

### 3 JAPAN

#### 3.1 LITERATURE

The subject of vernacular architecture in Japan, including the Ryukyus and aboriginal Hokkaido, has enjoyed much attention of geographers, architecture specialists, and to a lesser degree ethnologists and folklorists, some of whom have devoted greater parts of their lives to this study, both Japanese (e.g. Ito Teiji, Kawashima Chuji, Kon Wajiro, Nomura Yoshifumi, Ogawa Toru, Takabeya Fukuhei, Takeuchi Hotaro, Sugimoto Hisatsugu) and non-Japanese (e.g. Edward Morse, Jacques Pezeu-Masabiau, Bruno Taut). Based on several different criteria, various typologies have been worked out which permit the inclusion of all the subtypes into a single type that encompasses the whole archipelago (cf. Sugimoto 1969).

Disproportionate to the mass of data on the constructive features of the dwellings of Japan and attention paid to typologies based on them is the consideration of space use and symbolism within them. Exception to this is the Ainu dwelling as most ethnographic reports include the discussion of the seating arrangement in daily life as well as of spatialization of various domestic ceremonies. Concerning the Ainu dwelling space in daily life, detailed descriptive or analytical treatment has been provided by Batchelor 1901:97-132, Chiri 1950, Munro 1962:55-65, Onuki (Ohnuki-Tierney) 1972, 1980 (Sakhalin), Takabeya 1943a, 1943b, Watanabe 1980, Yamamoto 1970 (Sakhalin); the spatialization of domestic ceremonies in the Ainu house is treated in Kono 1982 (bear ceremony) Kubodera 1955 (funeral), Kubodera 1968 (house-warming, bear ceremony), Munro 1962:66-98, 121-140 (house-warming, funeral), Natori 1944 (bear ceremony), Takabeya 1943a (house-warming). Much valuable information concerning the use of space in the Ainu dwelling also stems from early Japanese paintings.

In contrast, literature on the same problem concerning the

dwelling of the Ryukyans and especially Japanese proper is inadequate. While typologies based on space division (i.e. rooms) and hypothetical reconstruction of their evolution abound, little attempt has been made to understand the spatial symbolism of the dwelling as a whole. This is not necessarily due to the lack of data, as much information that can be analytically utilized may be drawn from Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939 (1975, 1979), the series "Nihon no minzoku", the collections of trait-distribution maps recently published by all the prefectural Boards of Education (Kyoiku iinkai), etc. So far, little effort has been made to discuss and analyze the seating arrangement around the hearth. More significantly, only one single thorough first-hand report has been written (Ishizuka 1954) on NANDO-GAMI, the focus of the Japanese household cult, despite the fact that its importance had already been pointed out by Yanagita. Especially enigmatic remains the connection of NANDO-GAMI to the related cult of YAMA-NO-KAMI of eastern Japan, and its overall function as a domestic manifestation of TA-NO-KAMI. It has been only very recently, in the 1980's, that the deficiency has become gradually recognized and in some cases partially remedied (Furuie 1981, Miyata 1983, Muratake 1985, Tsuboi 1985a, 1986b).

A slightly better situation is in the literature on the Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan dwelling (cf. Furuie 1981:176), yet the Ryukyuan dwelling is typologically the most varied of all areas of Japan, and in this light the information that exists on the Ryukyuan domestic space use is geographically fragmentary and the general picture is thus far from being complete.

### 3.2 THE QUADRIPARTITE SPACE USE IN THE AINU DWELLING

The central argument of the section on dwelling space arrangement in northeast Asia was that the most basic and probably oldest symbolically meaningful axis is the vertical one that finds its strongest manifestation in the pithouses, and that in

other dwelling forms the vertical axis becomes substituted by a horizontal one running from the entrance to the back of the dwelling, with its symbolism unchanged. It has been suggested that the Tungus-Manchu and Korean concept of MALU provides an illustration of the manner the vertical symbolism manifests itself on a horizontal plane, and that the Ainu concept of TUNTU (Sakhalin: TONTO) corresponds to it. Further, it has also been noted that the Ainu back window should be considered as a horizontal representation of the smoke hole (the term PUYARA signifies the smoke hole directly above the hearth among the pithouse-dwelling Sakhalin Ainu - Yamamoto 1970:43, and a wall window, particularly the one at the back, in ground-level Ainu dwellings of both Sakhalin and Hokkaido).

The term TUNTU in its narrower meaning of the main column also supports the argument of the preceding section. Whereas in the ground-level dwellings it is located in the corner at the back of the dwelling referred to as SOPA, in the Sakhalin pithouses the TONTO column is in the exact center of the dwelling, and the term SOPA here indicates the central area of the dwelling around the column. The CHISE-KORO INAU associated with the house-protecting deity (TUNTU, CHISE-KORO KAMUI, SOPA-UN KAMUI, etc.) is generally attached to it in the ground-level dwelling; in the pithouses of Sakhalin the same CHISE-KORO INAU is erected outside on the roof of the dwelling directly above the TONTO column (Yamamoto 1970:40-44), emphasizing the vertical, upward direction. This notion of "above" TUNTU stresses transcendence to the sacred and hence in this aspect also corresponds with the concept of MALU.

At the foot of the TONTO in the Sakhalin pithouses is the hearth, or sometimes two hearths on both sides of it. The hearth, like practically everywhere in northeast Asia, is associated with the concept of "below". The underworld is immediately under the hearth, which is the entrance to it in the dwelling of the Ainu of Saru region of Hokkaido (Munro 1962:58). While TUNTU (CHISE-KORO KAMUI, etc.) is male and has no ancestral characteristics, KAMUI FUCHI of the hearth is female and represents "the ancestral spirits, 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth'" (Munro 1962:88). (Here

the analogy of TUNTU with MALU does not include Korea whose MALU is apparently associated with the female element and has a distinct ancestral character.) In the ground-level Ainu dwelling of Hokkaido, the hearth is elongated in such a way that it is often directly connected with the entrance to the dwelling opposite the TUNTU column and the RORUN (KAMUI) PUYARA sacred window, thus expressing the bottom of the vertical axis horizontally. The connection of the hearth with the entrance area was a general feature in former times (Chiri 1950:337), and even in the ethnographic present its location is between the center of the floor and the entrance.

Despite the outward appearance of the Hokkaido Ainu dwelling similar to those of northern Honshu, the tripod structure of the roof indicates its evolution from a conical tent (Takabeya 1943:90-97, Munro 1962:56, Chiri 1950:337) and hence a relationship with northeast (Obayashi 1957).

Hypothetically reconstructed space use in the pit dwellings associated with the two post-Jomon cultures of Hokkaido, i.e. Okhotsk and Satsumon, indicate the same basic division, with the men's domain in the interior and women's in the entrance half (Fujimoto 1983:130-132), as in most areas of northern and eastern Siberia (but the former culture probably cannot be attributed to a proto-Ainu population).

The ridge of the roof of the ground-level Hokkaido and Sakhalin Ainu dwellings parallels the neighboring river, and the back-front orientation is based on the direction toward its headwaters (mountains) and toward its mouth (the sea), which is the most important determinant of the Ainu orientation (Obayashi 1973, Ohnuki-Tierney 1972:438). The terminology for the two sides divided by the transverse axis in the Sakhalin Ainu ground-level dwelling are the RORUNSO 'upper side' attached to the wall of the sacred window, and PANAWA 'downward' and other terms, often related to the maintenance of the hearth, close to the entrance room. The two sides divided by the longitudinal axis are the SHIMONSO (SHISO) 'right side' and HARIKISO 'left side' (Yamamoto 1970:92). The terminology for the Hokkaido Ainu dwelling space

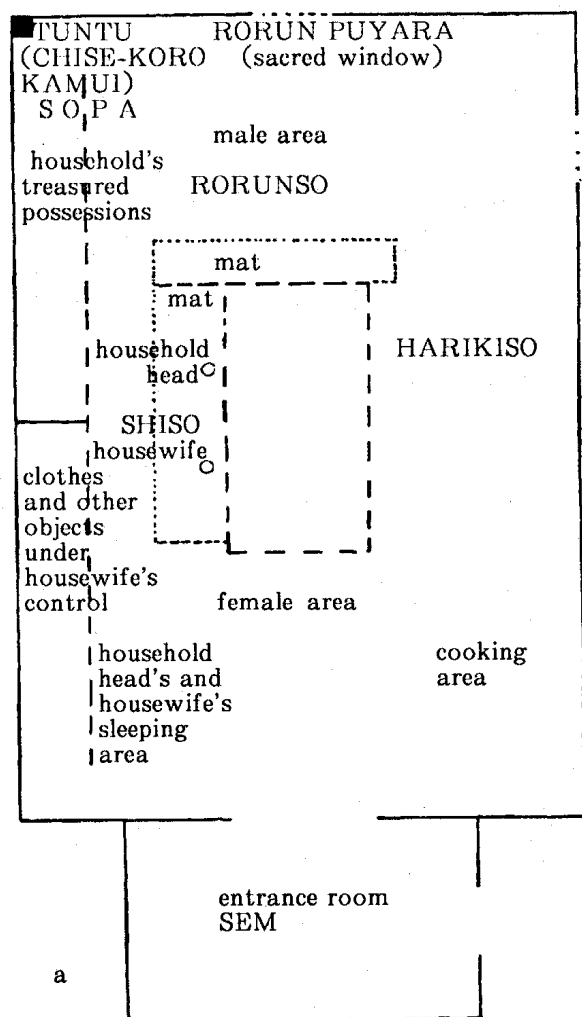
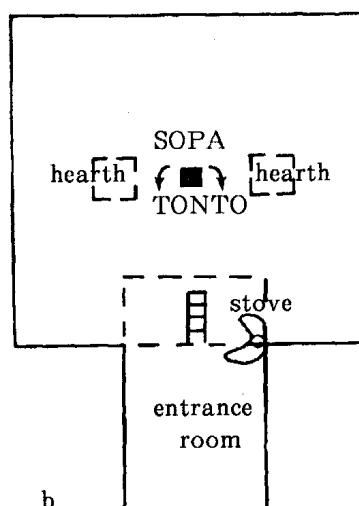


Fig. 63 (a) : Hokkaido Ainu.  
After Takabeya 1941, Munro  
1962; (b) Sakhalin Ainu  
pithouse. After Yamamoto  
1970:44



generally coincides (cf. Takabeya 1941:124). The arrangement does not significantly differ from that among the peoples of Siberia, except that among the Ainu the left side (seen from the entrance) is superior to the right; the situation reverses itself only after the funeral ceremony when the household head and his wife move to the right side and the arrangement is temporarily parallel to that in the Evenk dwelling. The funeral inversion involves only the longitudinal axis. The two perpendicular axes thus create two intersected superior halves and two inferior ones. The quarter where the two superior halves overlap is the back left corner (SOPA; the only named corner), which is dominated by the TUNTU column with which the CHISE-KORO KAMUI guardian deity is associated. The distinction of the back left corner is further accentuated by the prominence of the walls that form the two sides

of it: household's treasured objects are kept along the left wall (beyond the transverse axis; before it are objects under the feminine control such as clothes), while the back wall is dominated by the sacred window which in many cases is not in the exact center of the wall (i.e. on the longitudinal axis) but slightly to the left (e.g. plans in Ohnuki-Tierney 1972:436, Takabeya 1943:96, Yamamoto 1970:92-106). The sacred NUSA fence located immediately behind the SOPA corner is another indicator of its prestige; likewise, the ceremonial seating arrangement (UESHOPKI) reveals the increase in spatial value in the direction toward the corner: men seated in the back row are superior to those seated in the front one and those in the left row are superior to those in the right one.

As mentioned above, the TONTO and the SOPA in the Sakhalin Ainu pithouses are located in the center; it may be said concerning those in the Sakhalin and Hokkaido ground-level houses that they also represent cen-

trality. Although there are few data on the seating arrangement in the Sakhalin pithouses and thus it is impossible to determine any resemblance to the Paleoasiatic pithouses, a degree of concentric pattern is indicated by the sexual dichotomy in the seating arrangement in the ground-level

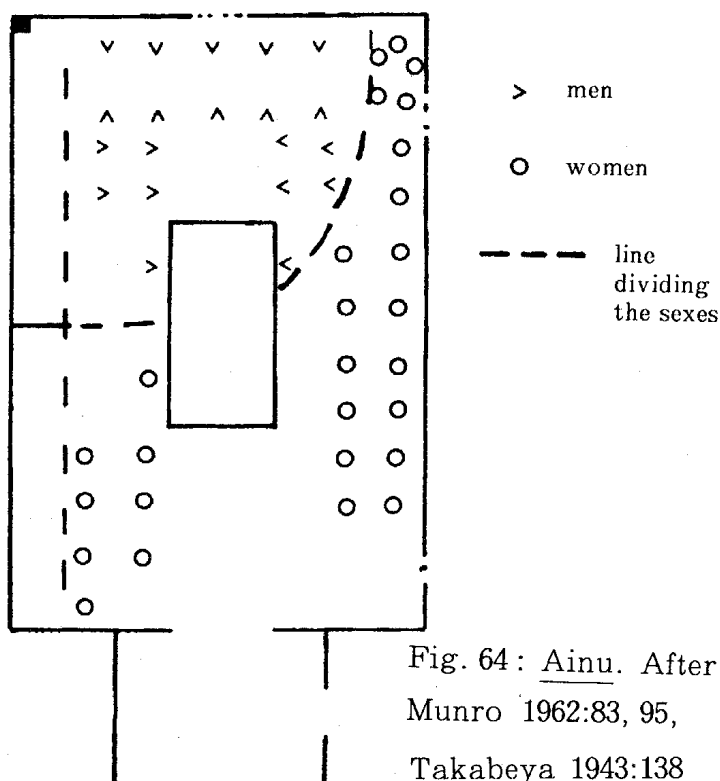


Fig. 64: Ainu. After  
Munro 1962:83, 95,  
Takabeya 1943:138

Hokkaido Ainu dwellings. On ceremonial occasions when a large number of guests are present, men tend to form an inner circle around certain sides of the hearth, which is especially evident on the right side while women tend to occupy positions near the walls,



except those to which their access is restricted, thus forming incomplete circles, the center of which is the TUNTU column. It has been shown that men forming the inner circle and women outer characterizes the seating arrangement in the Paleoasiatic peoples' subterranean dwellings.

The partially concentric pattern of dwelling space use of the Ainu is compatible with the quadripartite one in which the sum of various relations is found on a diagonal line. The front left quarter of the dwelling is occupied by the female members of the household, whose rank spatially decreases in the direction away from the housewife's seat which is located near the transverse axis, toward the "bottom" of the hearth and further toward the right. The back right square has a less pronounced character, often serving as a children's sleeping area and a dancing place of women during such occasions as the bear ceremony (Kono 1982:81). Diagonally opposite the SOPA is a square that has the lowest value of all and usually functions as a kitchen: utensils and water are stored there, and a window for disposing dishwater is cut in the wall of that corner. Obviously, as a kitchen it is women's area; it is also used by women as a dancing place during the house-warming ceremony (Munro 1962:95). In the Sakhalin Ainu pithouses which are characterized by the presence of both the hearth and the earthen cooking stove, the latter is placed in this corner. As in the case of the SOPA, the symbolism of this corner in some areas of Hokkaido continues outside the dwelling: the two assistant deities of KAMUI FUCHI, i.e. MINTARA-KORO KAMUI and RU-KORO KAMUI, are associated with the areas outside this corner (Munro 1962:21).

The Ainu dwelling, not necessarily subterranean, of certain areas of Sakhalin has been described as separating the sexes not according

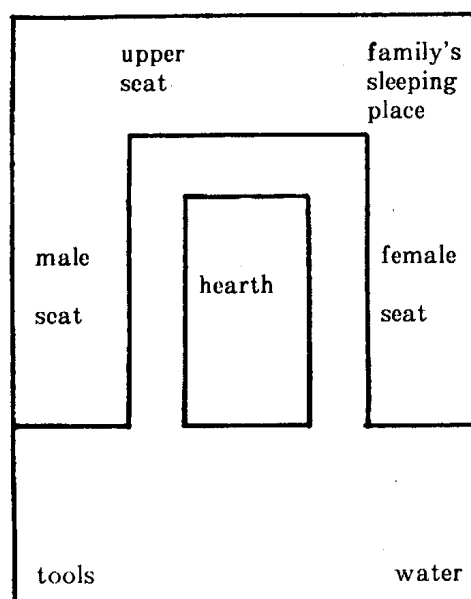


Fig. 65: Sakhalin Ainu. After Yonemura 1981:292

to the transverse axis but rather according to the longitudinal one, thus placing men on the left side and women on the right side (Yonemura 1981:292, Baba 1979:94). Few other details concerning the seating arrangement in these dwellings are given to make a comparison with Hokkaido and most parts of Sakhalin possible, nevertheless as such a tendency exists in Hokkaido as well, it is likely that this pattern either represents an elaboration of the situation in Hokkaido, or that in the ethnographers' perception the longitudinal dichotomy of the sexes was the dominant one. In the dwelling of the Hokkaido Ainu, women's ceremonies may be held not only in the right front quarter, but also in the back right one. During large-scale rituals that take place indoors and that involve a large number of guests, the sexual division according to the transverse axis is strictly adhered to on the left side, but on the right side women may occupy almost the whole space along the right wall, except for the space immediately attached to the back wall that is taken by a single row or the double UESHOPKI row of men (Kono 1982:79). Also, the annex for an adolescent daughter is attached to the right side (Segawa 1957:46), reinforcing the feminine association with the right side. The bodies of killed bears, if placed longitudinally in the SOPA corner, are arranged in such a way that the male bear is on the left side and the female on the right (Kono 1982:79). Thus, the right side in the Hokkaido dwelling may be considered to be feminine, in addition to the front. The right back corner, however, overlaps with the masculine space; likewise, the left front quarter cannot be considered purely feminine since it also serves as an area where the household head sleeps next to his wife, the former to the left and the latter to the right. Women have no access to the SOPA and men are rarely seen in the diagonally opposite kitchen.

Besides the bisected male-female oppositions, the "high" and "low" concepts also are determined by both the longitudinal and transverse axes. The "low" area generally coincides with the entrance half and the "high" area with the interior. The access to the dwelling is gained from a foreroom at the front of the dwelling, but the entrance to the foreroom is on the right side.

Further, the two small windows that are used in various ways for communication with the outside secular world, open in the right wall. Most ethnographic reports that describe the Ainu dwelling locate the river on the right side of the dwelling, indicating that there is a possibility that the right bank of a river is favored for the building site, rather than the left one. If this unverified assumption is correct, the right side of the dwelling which faces the river would accordingly be considered lower than the left side which faces a mild slope. These relations can be illustrated by the sleeping arrangement in the Ainu dwelling in which the heads of all the persons should be oriented "upward": those who sleep in the front half, i.e. the householding couple in the left quarter and daughters and female guests in the right one, orient their heads toward the back, while those who sleep in the back half, i.e. male family members and guests in the right corner and the household head on a ceremonial occasion in the left one, turn their heads toward the left wall (Yoshida 1956:137).

Several points may be derived from the above discussion of the Ainu dwelling: 1. The two perpendicular axes have similar characters, both dividing the upper and male from the lower and female. The transverse axis (x), however, is more important in this respect than the longitudinal one (y). 2. As a consequence of 1., the space of the dwelling consists of four quarters formed by bisected halves, two of which overlap. 3. As a consequence of 2., oppositional diagonality is an organizing principle of the dwelling space and is manifested by the opposition of the high/male/back of the left back quarter (SOPA) and the low/female/front of the right front corner (kitchen). The remaining two quarters, i.e. right back and left front

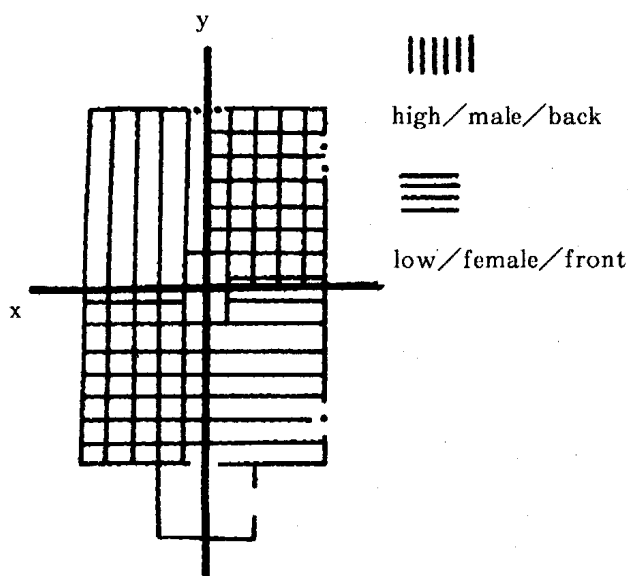


Fig. 66

combine both traits, but since the transverse axis dominates over the longitudinal one, the right back quarter tends to emphasize the masculine character and the left front the feminine. This diagonality in the Ainu house does not constitute an indigenously perceived meaningful axis. 4. Both horizontal axes symbolize verticality, but the longitudinal axis indisputably predominates in this respect. 5. The Ainu dwelling space has a single focus, i.e. the column in the left back corner (TUNTU) and the space associated with it (SOPA), and is considered to be central. 6. Since the SOPA is an exclusively masculine space, it may be said that the whole Ainu dwelling favors the male element.

### 3.3 THE QUADRIPARTITE PATTERN IN SPACE USE IN THE JAPANESE RURAL DWELLING

The connection of Japan with northeast Asia and Ainu is evident in the prehistoric subterranean Japanese dwellings, especially those excavated in eastern Japan, although various interpretations of the space use in them exist. Mizuno (1969) and Obayashi (1971), analyzing a report of an excavated middle Jomon site in Yosukeone, Nagano Prefecture, both recognized the importance of location of such objects as a "standing stone", erected on a stone platform interpreted as an "altar", a phallic stone, a female figurine associated with a stone circle, as well as of placenta burial, which were found in corresponding sections of the dwellings in the settlement. All the pithouses of the settlement tend to be oriented in the same direction, and the standing stone which is generally interpreted by prehistorians as a symbol of ancestor worship, and the phallic stone considered to be a fertility symbol, are located at the back of the dwellings, opposite the entrances. The stone circle and the female figurine within it, thought to represent women's cult, is found near the entrance to the pithouse. Several other sites (e.g. Nishi Akiru of Tokyo, in which the back of the dwelling pit is paved with stones

and thus forms an elevated platform) also indicate that the domestic ritual space was located at back, opposite the entrance. Concerning the division of the sexes, Mizuno (1969:3-4), without providing details, considers the right side to be male and left side female, while the back is a ceremonial area (i.e. similar to Raenk's Type 2); on the other hand, according to Obayashi who has scrutinized the original report of the Yosukeone excavation, the location of the ritual objects indicates rather the male space at the back and the female space in the entrance area, thus corresponding to the arrangement in the north Siberian hunting people's dwellings (Raenk's Type 1). Concentric and quadripartite patterns of sexual division in Jomon houses have been suggested as well (Ogasawara and Matsuoka 1981, Tanaka 1985), but the method of their determination seems rather hypothetical.

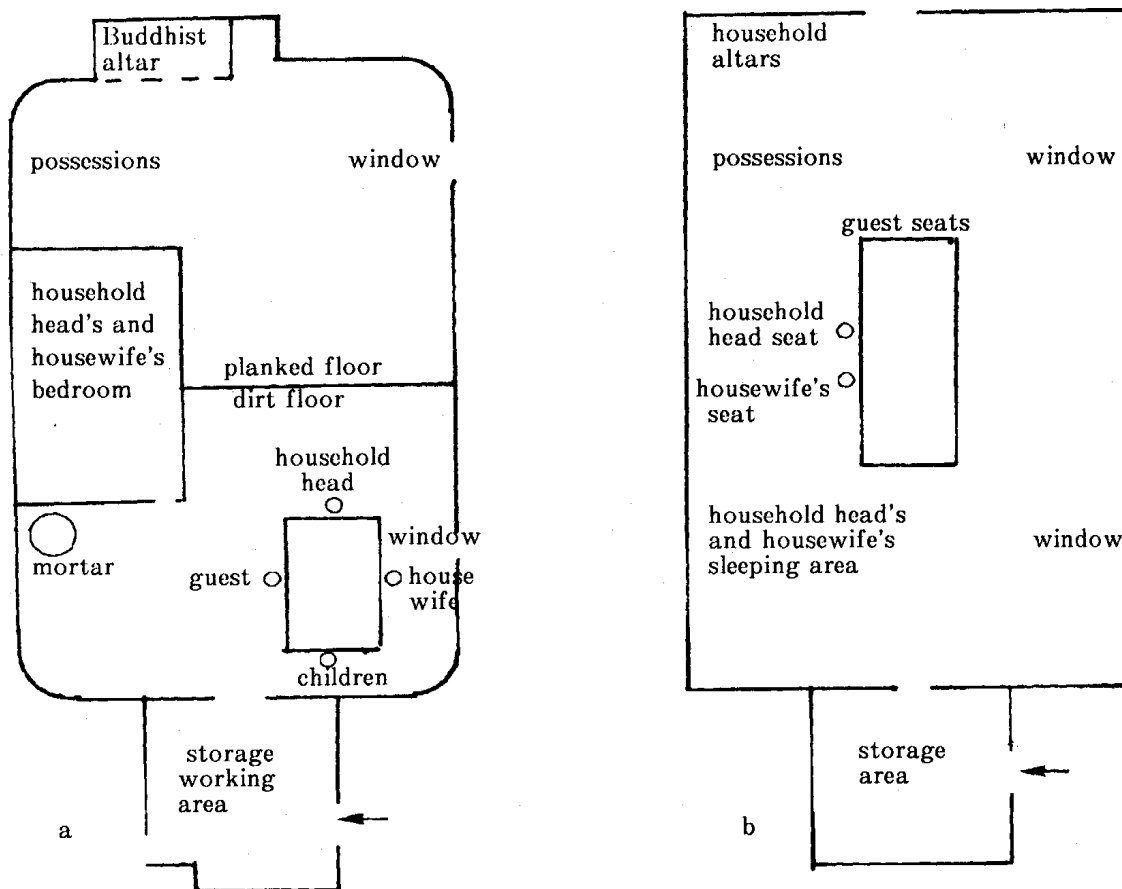


Fig. 67 (a) : a temporary field dwelling in Shiramine, Ishikawa Pref., compared with the AINU dwelling (b). After Kawashima 1973:24

The functional differentiation between the back and front parts of dwelling space can also be seen in the 17th and 18th century pithouses of the MUR0 type in Tohoku, excavated by archaeologists: the floor in the part of the dwelling behind the central hearth was covered by planks, a feature of a wide distribution in contemporary northeast Asia (cf. the above-mentioned slightly raised planked floor at the back of the Koryak and Itelmen pithouses). Such ethnographic parallels suggest that the interior area in the Japanese MUR0 is a high-status and probably ritual area.

The back area marked by planked flooring is also common in the present-day ground-level Japanese dwelling which consists of a single room. Examples are particularly abundant in the Japan Sea coastal areas. The temporary dwelling (DEZUKURI) in Shiramine village, Ishikawa Prefecture (Fig. 67), in addition to the planked floor at the back that points to a relationship with northeast Asia, includes characteristics that reveal striking resemblance to the Ainu house. These similarities include two windows on the side of the entrance, the householding couple's sleeping area along the opposite wall and the entrance diagonally opposite the altar, in front of which are the household's treasured possessions. The hearth is likewise

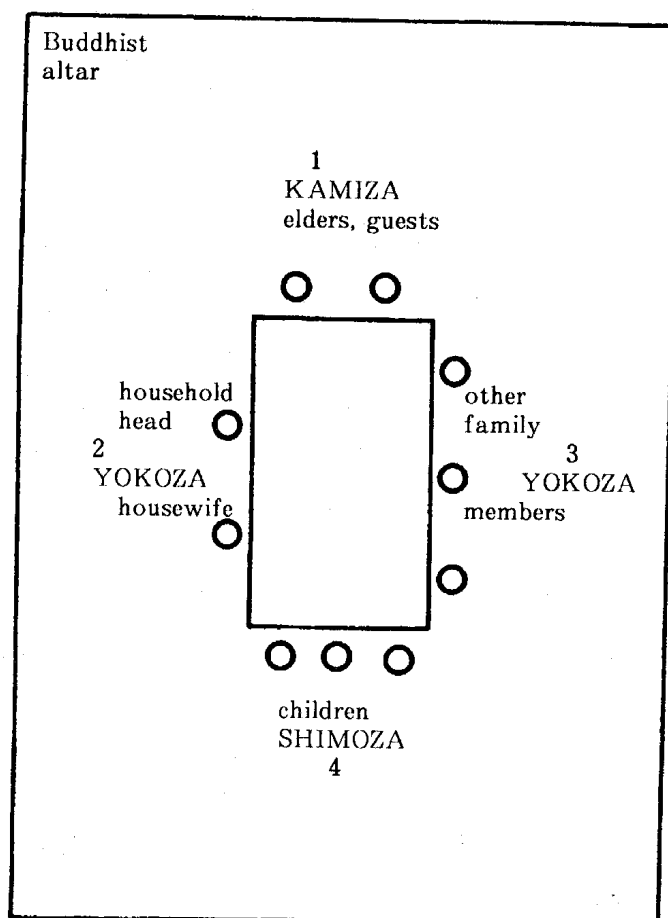


Fig. 68: Nei-gun, Toyama Pref. Seating arrangement around hearth

located diagonally opposite the altar, corresponding with the location of the kitchen in the Ainu house and the earthen stove in the Sakhalin Ainu pithouse. However, the seating arrangement around the hearth follows the standard order of that in the Japanese dwelling, except that it allots an exterior position to the housewife and an interior one to the male guest. But a seating arrangement that is identical to that in the Ainu dwelling can be found in other localities of the same general area, e.g. Nei-gun of Toyama Prefecture (Fig. 68). In this arrangement, the highest seat (KAMIZA 'upper seat'), located opposite the entrance side, is occupied by respected guests, elders or the first generation parents (the grandmother's seat here is discrepant from the Ainu pattern). The second seat in the descending hierarchical order (YOKOZA 'side seat') is occupied by the household head and the housewife, the former toward the back and the latter toward the front. The seat opposite it ranks third and is likewise referred to as YOKOZA. It is occupied by miscellaneous members of the household, which corresponds to the vagueness of that side in the Ainu dwelling. The least important seat is the SHIMOZA ('lower seat') near the entrance, and it is occupied by persons of a low rank, including children. This seating order is thus quite different from that in the standard Japanese dwelling, but the lexical designation of seats, as will be argued below, with the opposition of KAMIZA and SHIMOZA and lack of distinction between the lateral YOKOZA, which is identical with the terminology in Raenk's Type 1 (cf. the Evenk MALU, BE, BE, CHONGO), probably reflects the original situation in the Japanese dwelling.

Such patterns underlie the space arrangement in standard Japanese dwellings throughout the Hokuriku region. These are distinguished from the rest of Japan by the fact that the occupancy of the two longitudinal sides is in many cases reversed (Fig. 69).

From a very localized type, attention will now be turned to the common, standard Japanese dwelling. The predominant type in Japan is the so-called TANOJI, i.e. a quadripartite residential space generally of a raised floor attached to an earthen-floor

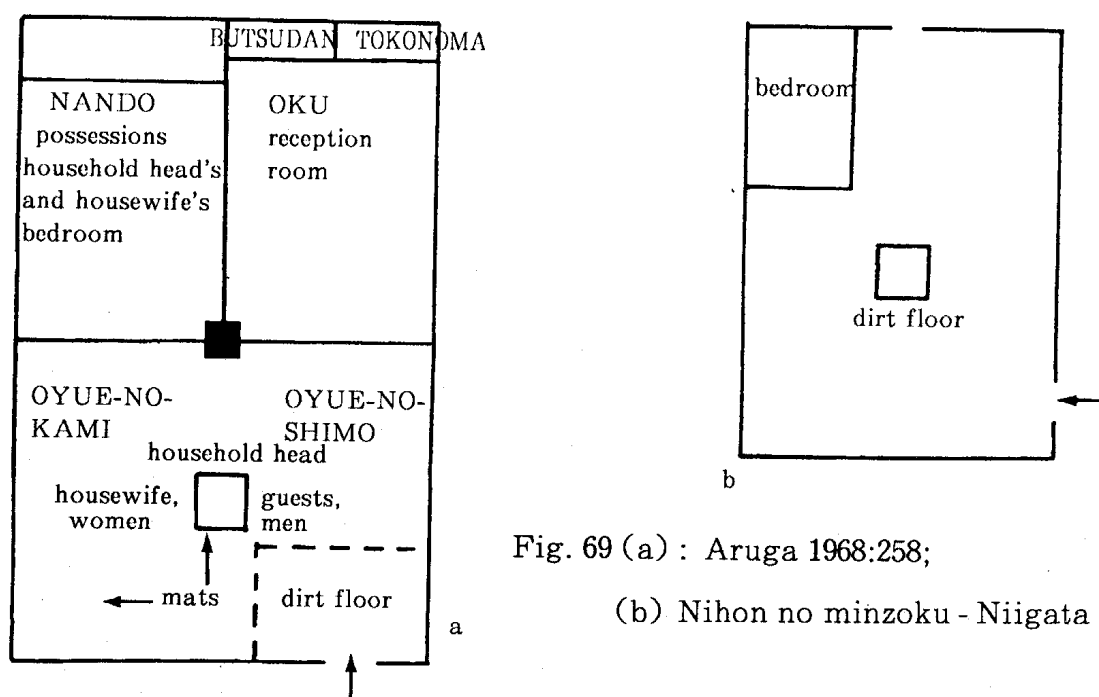


Fig. 69 (a) : Aruga 1968:258;

(b) Nihon no minzoku - Niigata

area which serves as a cooking and working area and a stable (Fig. 77). This type is especially concentrated in the western half of Japan, but is also widely distributed in other areas (eastern Japan, the Ryukyu Islands), where it coexists with other types. Typology of Japanese house plans, however, is based on the number of rooms and takes no account of the fact that even if there are no partitions, the space may be conceptually divided by such landmarks as the hearth, certain columns or the ridge axis. For example, the dwelling in the above Fig. 69 (a) is generally included in the HIROMA type, because of the large room (OYUE) that contains the hearth, behind which there are two smaller rooms, hence the type is classified as tripartite. However, the hearth divides the large room into two named halves, i.e. OYUE-NO-KAMI and OYUE-NO-SHIMO, each with its own function and relation to a particular sex. This type is thus functionally quadripartite like the TANOJI type. (This dwelling has no separate economical area; the only non-residential space is the part of OYUE-NO-SHIMO immediately attached to the entrance.) Likewise, the dwelling of Fig. 69 (b), which is classified as the two-room type, is in fact based on a quadripartite pattern named according to the hearth seats. The one partitioned room in it, diagonally opposite the entrance, is



the overlap of the two superior halves, not unlike the Ainu SOPA. Except for the partition that separates the NANDO room, partitions in the Japanese rural dwelling should not be emphasized as the only criterion for determining the spatial division because, conversely, they are impermanent and can be removed if a given situation, such as a ceremonial or social one, calls for it. (But this can also be said about NANDO which is partitioned off by curtains at night in the one-room type of dwelling.) Thus, the general Japanese dwelling space is a quadripartite entity regardless of regional variants and temporary situations. This quadripartite pattern is characterized by sets of oppositions duplicated according to the two perpendicular axes, the inevitable result of which is the arrangement of key concepts in diagonal relationship. The formula is thus the same as that dealt with in other cases above, e.g. in the Ainu dwelling; however, because of the variance of the component elements, and because of the evidence of several developmental layers, the resulting picture of the Japanese dwelling space is in certain aspects unique.

In order to assess the significance of the quadripartite pattern in the Japanese dwelling as a whole, it is essential to discern the symbolic essence, order of value and social significance of the four hearth seats. Just as the Japanese terms for "house" (IE) and "hearth" "fire" (HI) are hypothetically considered by some researchers to be derivations of a single etymological root, generally the former being closer to the root and the latter a secondary derivation, all the social relations in the whole dwelling may be seen in a reduced form around the four hearth sides. The hearth is at the present time rarely located in the real center of the dwelling, as the single-room dwellings have become increasingly rare; yet its function is still to act as a core of the dwelling, despite its physical location, on account of its force to attract household members and guests at meals, and at leisure during informal social and ritual gatherings. In numerous dwellings, there are more than one hearth; however, the pattern of seating is the same around all of them, and the central, generally

the largest hearth among them is the one used by the household at daily meals.

One type of Japanese seating arrangement around the hearth has already been described above (i.e. Nei-gun, Toyama Prefecture); similar arrangements with the same terminology can also be found in other areas (e.g. Aki-gun, Hiroshima Prefecture - Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939:174). The rarity of such a pattern is reflected more in its terminology than the seating arrangement itself, because customs related to the retirement of the older parents and respect given to them vary greatly in Japan and hence in numerous areas it is the old couple, or only the grandfather or the widowed grandmother who sit on the seat of honor; however, practically everywhere in Japan each of the four seats has its own name and no two sides are identified by a single term. The ranking order of the four seats appears to be homogeneous throughout the mainland of Japan; however, numerous variations in seat occupancy exist regionally, as notions concerning the status of daughter-in-law, son-in-law, older parents, guests, Buddhist priest, etc., change in each region and even in each household (i.e. depending on such factors as the household's developmental stage, whether it is one of HONKE or BUNKE, etc.).

Despite the numerous variations in the seating arrangement around the hearth, a single type can be identified as dominant and underlying the regional peculiarities. In this pattern, the most respected seat is the one opposite and farthest away from the earth-floored space used for cooking and economic purposes (DOMA), and is reserved for the household head. The seat second in significance is to the left of the main seat (i.e., the one facing the earth-floored space; the notions of left and right in the Japanese dwelling, or at least those around the hearth, are determined from the household head's seat, or space corresponding to it, which can be seen in those cases where the two seats on the sides of the household head's are named according to the relative directions left and right: HIDARIZA and MIGIZA are consistently determined from the point of view of the household head's seat) is the seat of the housewife. The third seat, opposite the housewife's, is that of

a guest or a male member of the household other than the head. The fourth seat near the earthen floor, the least desirable being the coldest and uncomfortable, is for the young bride, children, maid or servant. The ranking order is indicated in Fig. 70. Seat 1 is

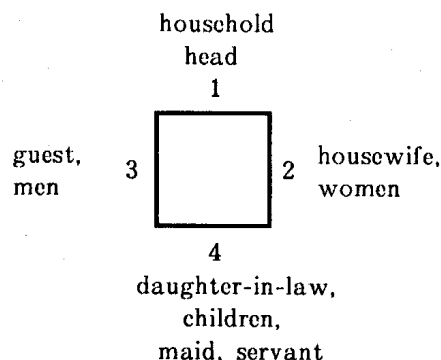


Fig. 70: Ranking order of hearth seats

generally male, seat 2 is always female, seat 3 is always male and seat 4 is generally female. The sexual division lines of the seating arrangement of the four sides of the hearth are thus perpendicular and hence the summary line is diagonal.

The terminology describing the hearth sides is far from being uniform, and its consideration reveals important facts concerning human relations within the household as well as the quadripartite principle upon which the space arrangement of the whole dwelling is based. The next few pages will be devoted to this problem. The order of its discussion will follow the ranking 1-4 as indicated in Fig. 70. Among the terms that are used to describe the sides of the hearth, none is as widespread as the YOKOZA for the household head's seat. The ethnographic trait distribution maps (Kyoiku iinkai minzoku bumpu-zu) from which much of the data presented below is drawn, indicate that this term is the most widespread among other terms in nearly all the prefectures. The next term for this seat of a wide distribution is that which expresses its relative level (height), i.e. KAMIZA and its variants (JOZA, UWAZA, UENZA, KUNDARIMUKI, etc.), as well as the same terms with different suffixes ( -JIRO, -BA, -KATA, -NOZA, -ZASHIKI, -TE, dialectal -JA, etc.); however, the extent of its distribution in prefectures rarely surpasses a half of YOKOZA designations; only Kochi Prefecture indicates the dominance of KAMIZA (used in 35 localities surveyed in the Kochi volume of the above-mentioned series of trait-distribution maps) over YOKOZA (2 localities). Terms which express the value of the same seat (SEIZA, SHOZA) are

third in their distribution extent. Finally, relatively widely distributed is a term that focuses on the occupant of the seat (TEISHUZA, DANNAZA, OYAZA, OYAJIZA, TEIZA, TEZA, TOTOZA, ARUJIZA, KOMEKAIZA). The overall distribution tendency across Japan is approximately 80% for YOKOZA, 10% for KAMIZA and about 5% each for the SHOZA and TEISHUZA categories. (It must be emphasized that this is only a tendency; several prefectures were not counted, and the data in the maps is not of a precise nature). Other terms that apply to the household head's seat-of-honor, but which are of very limited numbers, involve roots describing the position of the seat within the dwelling (OKUZA, URAZA, OMOTEZA, SAKIZA, MUKOZA, NAKAZA, USHIROZA, MAEZA etc.); height which is not counterpoised by an opposite term applying to the opposite seat (TAKAZA, KOZA, SORA etc.); cardinal point (NISHIZA, HIGASHIMUKI etc.); importance (OMOZA, SHUZA) and others. No terminological tendencies have been discerned to be localized in blocks of a prefectural size or larger; rather, all the terms except for YOKOZA are localized in very narrow regions within prefectures, reappearing in various areas throughout Japan. This can be said about designations of other seats as well.

As mentioned above, this seat is that of the household head, in whose absence it may not be occupied by any other person, which is illustrated by a series of folk sayings and proverbs. An exception, however, is a guest of a higher status, such as the head of the HONKE, in whose presence the household head vacates the seat. The same applies to the Buddhist priest, but this practice is subject to regional variations.

The fact that the term YOKOZA is distributed so widely throughout Japan has been attributed to its late origin and dispersal. The prevalent view, originally suggested by Yanagita, favors the derivation from the fact that mats are laid on the household head's seat perpendicularly to the hearth. This appears to be a rather problematic suggestion, considering that the mat is not an essential and emphasized appurtenance; conversely, these objects were not limited to the household head's seat but could be, at least in theory, laid on any of the four

seats. Also, this suggestion could not be taken to account for the late origin and dispersal of the term YOKOZA as the use of mats is not necessarily a historical-era innovation; mats are used for seating among the Ainu, in Siberia, south-east Asia etc. Tsuboi's recent suggestion (1985a:22) that it is called YOKOZA because the main seat is actually that of the housewife, which becomes the point of reference for determining the hearth sides, is of a considerable interest, but may not be unanimously accepted as the final interpretation, because simply the household head's seat being main is an indisputable fact. (This suggestion by Tsuboi will be returned to and discussed in a greater detail below.)

The terminology for the housewife's seat is extremely varied. Its most frequently encountered designation is derived from the person occupying it. The following roots are attached to the suffixes indicating 'seat' (-ZA, -ZASHIKI, -MA, -IRE, -JIRO etc.): KAKA-, NYOBO-, YOME-, MERO-, HAHA-, OKA-, TSUMA-, KANAI-, signifying 'wife' or 'mother'. Second, though its use is limited to western Japan in a sharp way, is related to the housewife's function in tea preparation (CHASEN-, CHANOMI-, CHAEN-, CHANON-, CHAKUMI-, CHANA-, CHANE-, CHATO-, CHA-, CHAKEN-, CHAMORI-, CHANOI-YU-); third, in both western and eastern Japan, is a term that expresses the value of the seat as low (SHIMO-, SHITA-, GE-); fourth, the housewife's relation to the shelf with utensils and foodstuffs attached to the seat (TANAMOTO, TANAMAE etc.); the fifth, common designation identifies it as the female seat, as it is not occupied only by the housewife but other female members of the household as well, to make a contrast with the male seat directly opposite it. Among them frequent are ONNAZA, ONAGO(ZA), ONAGYATA(ZA), ONNATEN(ZA), BANBAJA (i.e. BABAZA), BABAYOKOZA (the final two may equally refer to the grandmother). The sixth term indicates the value of the seat as high (KAMIZA, UWAZA, etc., however, there are indications that at least in some cases this seat is named not after its intrinsic value but after the housewife's honorific titles as some designations seem to suggest, e.g. KAMISANZASHIKI, OKAMIZA, WAKATA, WATEZA, UWATE, IWATE etc. In other cases the function of the term KAMI is to act as a prefix to

distinguish between seats called by the same term, e.g. KAMIWAKIZA opposite the guest's SHIMOWAKIZA). This category is limited to western Japan. The seventh category focuses on the housewife's cooking utensils (NABEZA, NABEDOKO, etc., only in western Japan). After this follows YOKOZA (generally limited to a relatively large area in Akita Prefecture, where YOKOZA constitutes a majority of designations of the housewife's seat and a near-majority of the opposite guest seat, but also is strong in Ishikawa, Niigata, Saitama and Yamaguchi Prefectures; its variants are YOKOJIRI, YOKOZASHIKI and other); further, designations based on the stem WAKI-, KOSHIMOTO, and finally KENZA, which is usually interpreted according to the stem KE that refers to food preparation, although some researchers derive it from KEN 'authority'. Among the above designations, the KAKAZA category accounts for approximately 18%, CHANOMIZA 15%, SHIMOZA 14%, TANAMOTO 12%, ONNAZA 11%, KAMIZA 6%, NABEZA 6%, YOKOZA 6%, and the rest about 4% each. However, there is a visible difference between eastern and western Japan in the designations of the housewife's seat, the most frequent categories in the former being KAKAZA 22%, TANAMOTO 19%, ONNAZA 18%, SHIMOZA 13% and KIJIRI 9% (the rest are YOKOZA, KOSHIMOTO, WAKIZA, CHANOMIZA and KAMIZA), while those in the latter are CHANOMIZA 27%, SHIMOZA 16%, KAKAZA 15%, NABEZA 11%, KAMIZA 10% (the rest are TANAMOTO, ONNAZA, KENZA, KIJIRI and WAKIZA). Other terms referring to the housewife's seat which are of limited usage are HIDARIZA, KATAZA, KEGURAZA, TACHIZA, MESHITAKIZA, HADOKO, KIBAZA, TATEZA, DAIDOKO, HITASAJIRO, ABA, SOBAZA, KATTEZA, URAZA, NISHIIRI, JASAZA, MIZUYA, NAGAREZA, OKUNOZA, SUMAKKO, NAKAZA, NOBORI, OKAZA, TOTTSUKI, ANEZASHIKI, MOYAOKI, SHIBABEYA, SEDO, HARIBA, KUSOJIRI, SENDANA, SENCHI, HANZA, YANE, HERAZA, KOZA, ITANOSU, KIWA, MITAZE, UZZA and a multitude of yet others (a few of these are also listed in Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939:177-185). (The above categories are determined in a rather arbitrary manner in some cases as folk-etymological forces often cause semantic shifts. For example, KEGURAZA 'food seat' easily gives way to KIGURAZA 'firewood seat' or GEKURAZA 'low seat', KIJIRI 'bottom of firewood' to HIJIRI 'bottom of fire' and vice

versa. OKAZA 'mountain seat' as opposed to the guest seat OKIZA 'sea seat' in some localities becomes OKAZA (O K A A Z A) 'mother's seat'; Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939:195 consider the term KUSOJIRI to be

a joking version of KIJIRI etc. The same also applies in some cases to the household head's seat, e.g. SHOZA and JOZA are interchangeable because of the same processes, in spite of their diverse etymologies 正,上 etc.).

As already mentioned, the household head's seat (YOKOZA etc.) and the housewife's seat (KAKAZA etc.) are the most important seats among the four hearth sides; in fact, the difference in their importance from the remaining two seats is very sharp as the household head and housewife are required to occupy them if they are present, while the other two seats may remain vacant. In numerous localities or individual households, on informal but also in many cases formal occasions, the household members form an arrangement that may be perceived in terms of two parallel rows, a circle or an ellipse, the focal points of which are the hearth side seats of the household head and the housewife. The rest of the household members sit in a fixed order, generally according to age and status, which descends in the direction away from the hearth (although infants are subject to exception), the male members sitting on the household head's side and the female ones behind or beside the housewife. The advantage of this seating arrangement is the access to the containers with the staple food, the rice and

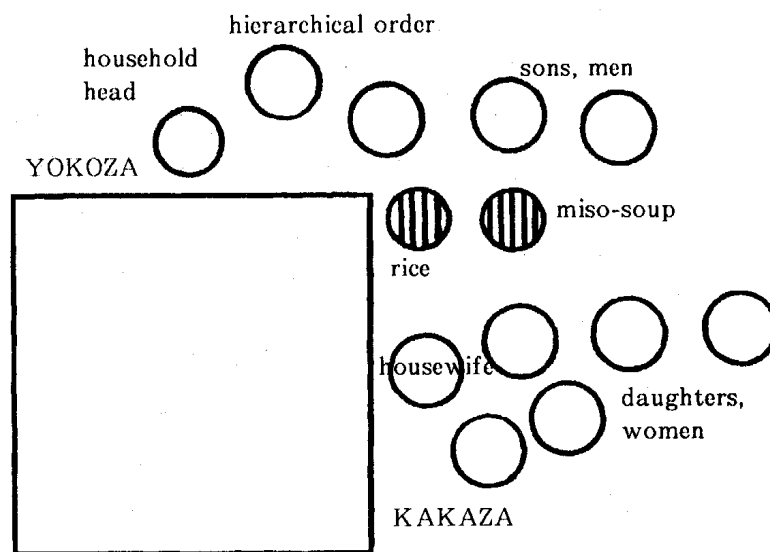


Fig. 71: Informal seating arrangement (cf. Ōshima et al. 1983:26, Pezeu-Masabua 1981:391)

the bean-curd soup. This arrangement can be interpreted as a fragment of a concentric pattern, in which incomplete circles of descending status in the direction away from the hearth are discernible, as well as one that emphasizes the transverse axis of sexual dichotomy, in contrast to the above-described formal seating arrangement around the hearth in which the longitudinal axis is more important as a determinant of sexual dichotomy. This point will be discussed in a greater detail below.

The seat third in importance, i.e. the one directly opposite the housewife's (female) seat and to the right hand of the household head who sits facing the earth-floored space, is also marked by a heterogeneous terminology; however, the designation as a guest's seat is the most common. The terms most frequently encountered in this category include KYAKUZA, OKYAKUTENZA, KYAKUMA, KYAKUJIN-MAKKO, KYAZZA; YORITSUKI, YOTTSUKIZA, YORIZA, YORISHIKIJASHIKI (from the verb 'to visit'); HITOZASHIKI (HITO = guest); MARITOZA, MARUTOZA, MATOZA, MADOZA (very common in western Japan and absent in eastern; MAREBITO=guest; Yanagita and Yamaguchi include MADOZA in this category; however, the pattern of its distribution indicates regions where the term MAREBITO(ZA) is absent, e.g. Niigata Prefecture, thus its occurrence should also be attributed to the folk-etymological convergence derived from 'window', as the seat in fact is on the window or entrance side). This category is followed by KAMIZA (UWAZA, UENZA, UENOIRORI, OWADE etc.); YOKOZA; OTOKOZA (OTOKOJASHIGI, OTOKOKATAZA, OTOKOTENZA, OTOKOJIRO, OTOKOIRE, OTOKOYAHIKI, OTOKOSEIZA, OTOKOSHIMOZA etc.) - almost all in the Tohoku region; SHIMOZA (SHIMOTTE, SHITAZA, SHIMOGATA etc.); OKIZA (OGI, OKIBIRA, OKINOHITE) - almost all in the Chugoku region; MUKOZA (MUKOZA, SHIMOMUKAI, KAMIMUKAI, MUKAIZA, MUKEZA, MUKOJIRO, MUKOIZA) - Yanagita and Yamaguchi suggest that this term is derived from MUKOO, not MUKO; however, in a region of Fukuoka Prefecture, the term MUKOZA predominates and is interchangeable with MUKOIZA (I = animate 'to be'), thus again this seems to be a case of folk-etymological convergence; TATEZA (mainly distributed in eastern Chugoku, especially dense occurrence is in Hyogo Prefecture); HITAKIZA (TAKIZA, SHIITAKUBA, HIJIRI etc. (because,



when vacant, women use this side to put firewood into the hearth). Among the most widespread terms, the "guest" category accounts for approximately 36%, KAMIZA 18%, YOKOZA 16%, OTOKOZA 11%, SHIMOZA 4%, OKIZA 4%, MUKOZA 4%, TATEZA 4% and HITAKIZA 3%, throughout the mainland of Japan. The numerous other designations localized in limited areas or sporadically scattered in large regions include WAKIZA, KIJIRI, ANIZA (ANNIIZA etc.), MINAMIZA (KITAMUKI etc.), NAKAZA, MIGI(WAKI)ZA, GOZARIMA, ATEGI, JAKAJA, AKARIPA, DEJIMA, SUBAYA, NIWAGATA, NAGATOKO, BANZASHIKI, MATAZA, SOBAZA, WAKIJIKI, TOTTSUKI, KUDOSAN, TETEMA, SHASHORI, KASURE, ADA, SONE, YONO, CHAKEZA, HATCHUNMA, DENGAMACHI, TOJJII, etc., the etymology of some of which is barely traceable.

The least important of the four hearth sides is the one opposite the household head's and between the housewife's and guest's seats. It is the least desirable, TATAMI mats are rarely placed there being too close to the edge of the raised floor, smoke is coming into the face of the person sitting there as it usually ventilates through the earth-floored space, is cold because the burning fire is far (i.e., wood is generally inserted from this side) and because the person's back is turned directly to the earth-floored space, also the meal or repose are often interrupted by requests made by the occupants of the other seats to make errands to the stove (KAMADO) or other places in the economic zone adjacent to this seat. Among the five most common designations, the most numerous (approximately 46%) emphasizes its location near the bottom of the burning firewood (KIJIRI, KINOSHIRIZA, KIMOTO, KIJIMO, KISHIMOTO, KINOSHIMA, KIJIRAMA, KIZURI, KIRIRIMA, CHIJIRI, KIJIRIBATA, KICHIJIRI, KIBARA etc.); followed (42%) by SHIMOZA (SHITAZA, SHIMODE, SHITANOIRORI, SHITANJASHIKI, GEZA, SHITAMAKKO etc.); terms that emphasize the seat's relation to the fire (hearth) and the maintenance of it (9%) (but again the border distinguishing it from the "firewood" category is vague - e.g. HIJIRI, HIJIRO, HINOKO, HITAKUBA, TAKIZA, TAKUMAYA, ROJIRI, IRORIZA, YURUIJIRI, etc.); the joking designation 'cat's seat' that indicates the lack of respect accorded to it (it may be some sort of derivation from the often-repeated saying concerning the

household head's seat-of-honor YOKOZA); its distribution (2%) is mainly concentrated in eastern Kyushu (NEKOZA, NEKONOHOKOZA, NEKONOSHOZA etc.); and finally (1%) 'bride's seat' (YOMEZA, YOMAKKO etc.), indicating the younger wife's low status as compared with the housewife's. Not counted in the above percentage are local designations of very limited distribution, some of which are expressing a regional peculiarity of seating arrangement (KODOMOZA - Niigata, Ehime, Yamaguchi etc., INKYOZA - Nara, INZA - Ishikawa, KAKAZA - Nara, GENINZA - Kumamoto etc.); the designation of this seat as one for women (ONNAZA, BABAZA) is also encountered in various regions across the mainland of Japan, as well as a multitude of miscellaneous other terms (e.g. KATEMA - Aomori, UCHIMA, BATOKKO, SUBITO, GIMBOSHI - Iwate, EBAKO - Akita, SUEZA - Yamagata, SUMOJA, URAERE - Toyama, KUCHINOJIRO - Ishikawa, JANJIRI, FUNKOMI - Nagano, KOEN - Gunma, HASHICHIKAZA - Yamanashi, MOYAOKI - Shizuoka, MAMAKOZA - Shiga, NIWAZA, OHIZA - Ehime, HANDOEN - Fukuoka, FUNGAMATSU - Miyazaki, AGARIPPANA, ITANOMA - several prefectures, etc.; for additional terms see Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939:189-197).

As the designations indicate, fewer restrictions concerning occupancy by certain individuals relate to the KYAKUZA and KIJIRI seats than to YOKOZA and KAKAZA, which should always be occupied by the household head and the housewife, respectively. Obviously, a guest is present only on rare occasions, and in his absence the KYAKUZA may be occupied by the eldest son, a son-in-law, a retired grandfather or any of the male members of the household other than the household head; KIJIRI may be occupied by a young bride, a retired grandmother, a daughter, a maid, and male persons of a low status such as young boys, generally other than the eldest son, or servants. In large gatherings that take place in the hearth area, not in ZASHIKI, members of HONKE or OYAKATA are gathered in areas attached to YOKOZA and KAKAZA (i.e. the interior), while members of BUNKE and KOKATA occupy areas associated with the seats closer to the entrance and exterior (KYAKUZA, KIJIRI) (cf. Aruga 1968:287-292). The line that divides the hearth sides according to importance is thus perpendicular to

that according to gender (Fig. 72).

Among the seat designations many of which express a landmark symbolically associated with it (e.g. TANA, HASHI, HANDO), level (KAMI, TAKA, SHIMO), side (YOKO, WAKI, MUKO), relation to the dwelling interior (OKU, URA, OMOTE), sex of

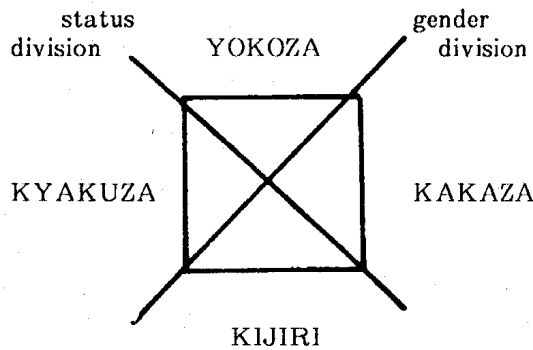


Fig. 72

the occupant (OTOKO, ONNA), kinship category (KAKA, ANI, UBA), occupant's role (KOMEKAI, GENAN), title (KAMISAN, OWATE) or activity (CHAKUMI, KE, TAKI), cardinal directions (NISHI, KITA, HIGASHI, MINAMI), relative directions (MAE, USHIRO, MIGI, HIDARI), relation to house exterior (OKA, OKI), importance (SHU, OMO, HON), opposition pairs are numerous and play an important role. Among them, the most prominent, most widely distributed, and as it will be argued later, probably oldest, is the KAMI-SHIMO (upper-lower) opposition (with which UWA-SHITA etc. are associated). Like all oppositions (except YOKO-TATE), KAMI-SHIMO opposition involves the sides directly opposite each other, although there are cases where the KAMI-SHIMO opposition refers to the adjacent seats of the household head and the housewife, but they are not typical, as the housewife's seat is not the lowest of all the seats; in such cases, the other two seats are not characterized by a designation of opposition (e.g. KYAKUZA, KIJIRI). Most frequently the KAMI-SHIMO opposition is applied to the household head's seat and the seat near the earth-floored space. This agrees with the usage of KAMIZA-SHIMOZA in Japanese seating arrangements on those occasions which are not held around the hearth but in ZASHIKI, public halls etc. The KAMI-SHIMO relationship also characterizes the directions perpendicular to it, but its occurrence is not as frequent as the former and is inconsistent in that in most cases KAMI is on the guest's (male) side and SHIMO on the housewife's (female) side, but a relatively large proportion applies to the same terms in the opposite way. The latter way, i.e. the female side

belonging to the KAMI category and the male one to SHIMO, is supported by the usage of the designations OKIZA and OKAZA, suggesting relationship with a low level (toward the sea) and high level (toward the mountains), respectively. This corresponds with the physical layout of the Japanese mountain dwelling built on a slope, in which generally the OMOTE side faces the valley and URA the slope of the mountain.

The term SENCHI is in several locations used to refer to the housewife's seat and is conceptually related to YAMA NO KAMI (Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939:177), the guardian deity of delivery, thus also lending support to this alternative. The fact that the terms KAMIZA and SHIMOZA refer to the guest's and the housewife's seats, respectively, and not vice-versa, must be attributed to the prestige that the OMOTE side has steadily been gaining since the beginning of the medieval era, and the simultaneous debasement of the URA side of the dwelling, a process that is still occurring at the present day in rural Japan. (This will be elaborated below.)

The terms OTOKOZA and ONNAZA decisively refer to the guest's and housewife's seats, although in a small number of localities they rather refer to the seat of the household head and the one opposite it. This corresponds with the fact that the former set is always divided according to the sexes (except for a very few cases such as the above-discussed Nei-gun of Toyama Prefecture), while the sexual dichotomy of the latter set is less sharp, i.e. as already mentioned, grandparents or a widowed grandmother may and often do sit on the seat-of-honor, while the opposite seat may be occupied by a male servant or a young son, although the seat is

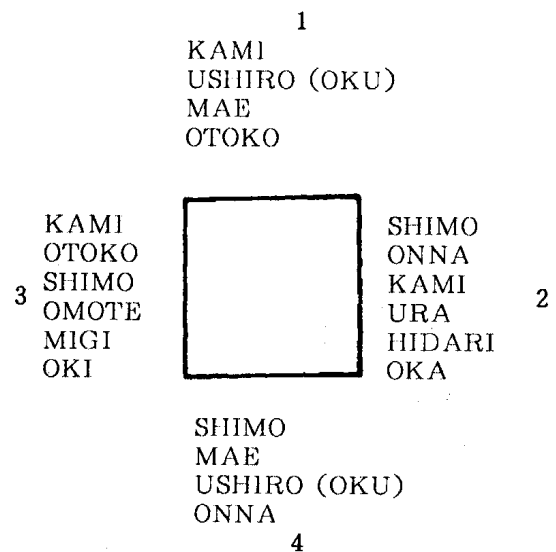


Fig. 73: Designations of hearth sides based on pairs of opposite meaning (in an approximate order of frequency)

more typically associated with the daughter-in-law. The opposition pair MAE-USHIRO (OKU) is generally applied to the seats corresponding with KIJIRI and YOKOZA, although they may also be used to refer to KYAKUZA and KAKAZA, respectively, but OMOTEZA and URAZA always refer exclusively to KYAKUZA and KAKAZA.

Therefore, one may only speak of tendencies in the terminology of the hearth seats and not in terms of sharply defined categories. Naturally, there are many anomalies. All the four seats may in different localities but a single prefecture be called YOKOZA (e.g. Shizuoka, Shiga, Yamaguchi, Kochi), the lowest seat is called UWADE in a locality in Gunma Prefecture and SEIZA in one in Ishikawa Prefecture, the household head's seat-of-honor is referred to as SHIMOZA in Shiga Prefecture, etc.

As mentioned above, the quadripartite pattern of the space surrounding of the hearth is not a feature independent from the arrangement of the whole dwelling space, but is both its integral part and its miniature replica. This pattern becomes even clearer when diagonality is taken into consideration. As outlined in Fig. 74, the household head's seat YOKOZA and the guest's and men's seat KYAKUZA are both masculine seats; accordingly, the corner between the two (indicated as A in Fig. 74) points to the room ZASHIKI (KAMINOMA, etc.), which is used on formal occasions by the household master to receive guests. The diagonally opposite corner (B) is formed by the housewife's KAKAZA and the bride's KIJIRI, both female seats, and points to the cooking area. The corner between the household head's and the housewife's seats (C) points to NANDO (HEYA, etc.), which is the bedroom of the household head and his wife. Finally, the corner diagonally opposite it (D) points to the IMA (GENKAN etc.) room, which is functionally the least distinct of the four rooms and is the location of the entrance. A set of basic oppositions expressed by the two diagonalities is distinct. (A) is male and its direction is symbolized by the altars of the "great tradition" religions (BUTSUDAN, KAMIDANA), (B) is female and is symbolized by the hearth and stove and the stove deity (e.g. OKAMASAMA) of the "little tradition". The opposition of C and D is also characterized by sexual symbolism, but it is less

pronounced than that of A and B; rather, the opposition of the most secluded room in which household possessions are stored and which is symbolized by an agricultural and human fertility deity and at the same time the household's guardian deity (NANDO-GAMI, TOSHITOKOSAMA etc.), and the entrance room, i.e.

the most exterior space within the house, predominates. Nevertheless, C is more female and D is more male, because the longitudinal axis is more important than the transverse one in determining the sexual division in the Japanese dwelling space.

The above-outlined view of the relationship between the hearth and the whole dwelling space is schematic, as the hearth is in most areas of Japan not in the physical center of the dwelling, since single-room or two-room (i.e. with the partitioned-off NANDO) dwellings have recently become rare, rather its more common position is an area diagonally opposite ZASHIKI, either projecting to the earth-floored space, from which it is often distinguished by a floor raised to the same level as the residential part of the dwelling which is made of planks, or, more commonly, in the corresponding quarter of the residential space. The efforts to

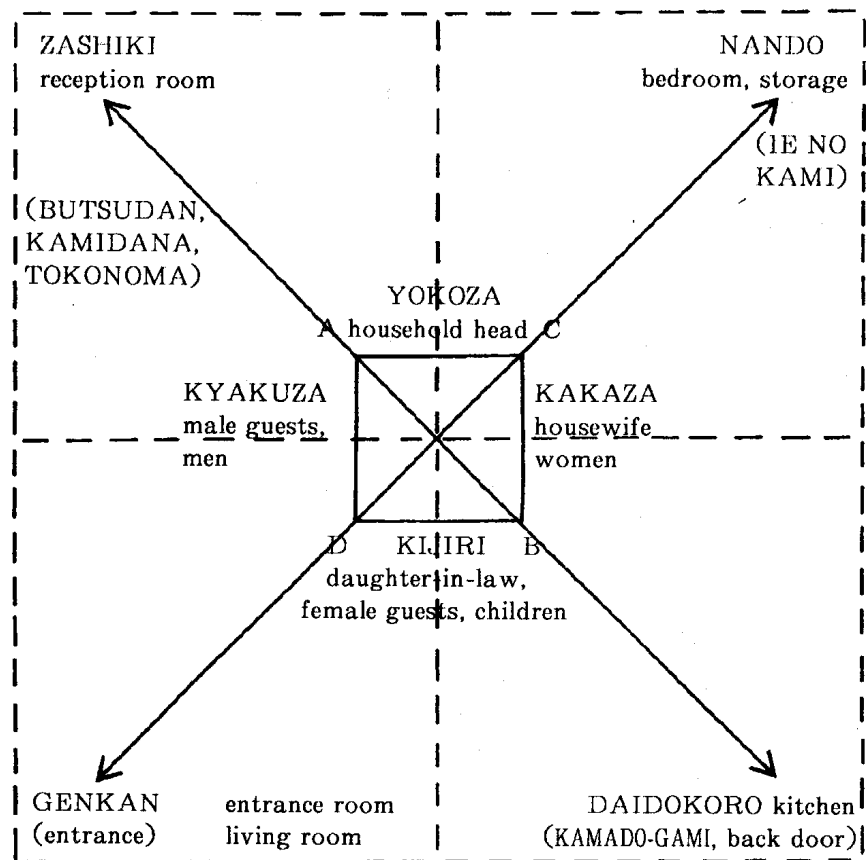


Fig. 74: Relation of hearth sites to the Japanese dwelling space

separate ZASHIKI, symbolized by BUTSUDAN, TOKONOMA etc., from the cooking and eating space to the diagonally opposite corner, i.e. as far away from each other as possible, is proportionate to the emphasis of the notions of HARE and KE in the rural dwelling.

Nonetheless, there are still numerous areas in Japan where the significance of the hearth as an indicator of spatial arrangement of the dwelling is close to the above-outlined schematic pattern, i.e. those areas where the so-called HIROMA-type of layout is common. Within the HIROMA-type, two subtypes can be distinguished: 1. the length of HIROMA parallels with the earth-floored space (Fig. 75 a, cf. Fig. 69 a), a pattern common in Hokuriku and other areas and often called SANMADORI to distinguish it from the other subtype; and 2. the length of HIROMA parallels small bedrooms located on the longitudinal side of the dwelling (Fig. 75 b), a pattern commonly found in Tohoku region where it forms islands among the TANOJI and other types. In both subtypes the hearth sides indicate the division of space in the HIROMA main room, but it is especially pronounced in the latter subtype where HIROMA occupies the majority of the dwelling space, where all activities take place, and in comparison to which the two small bedrooms are insignificant.

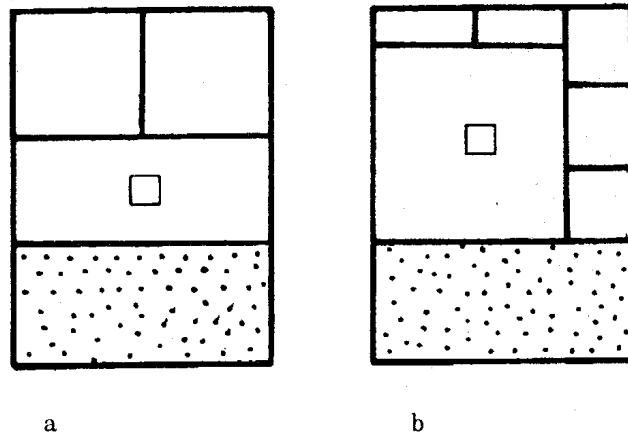


Fig. 75: Two types of HIROMA

Returning to the type that is the most prevalent in Japan, the TANOJI type, the four constituent parts of which are physically separated from each other by partitions, an important feature is the fact that each of the rooms has its own function. No two rooms are identical in character, and no single space unifies the functions of all the rooms. This has been pointed out by Nakane (Nihonjin no... 1971:83-85) who compared the Japanese dwelling space to those in England, India and Italy (and China). In the

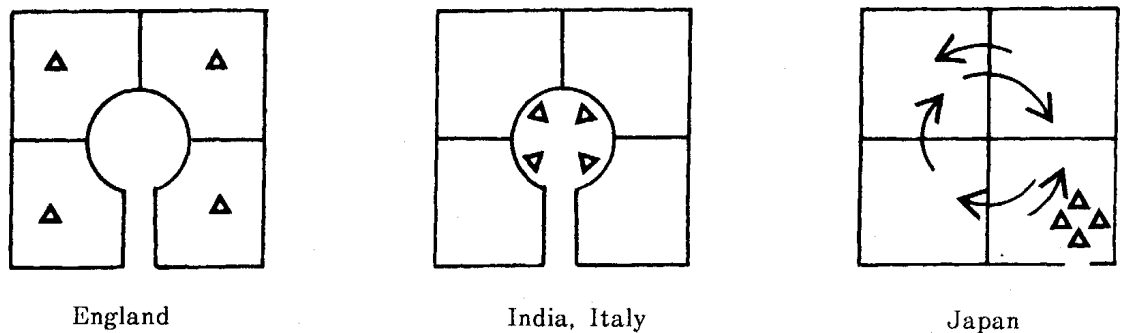


Fig. 76 : Comparison of dwelling space use. After Nakane  
(Nihonjin no.... 1971:84)

English pattern each inhabitant of the house has his or her base in a private room and although he/she performs certain activities in the common room, the time is always relatively short as compared with the time spent in the individual private room. In the Indian/Italian pattern where most of the time is spent in the public courtyard and the private rooms are only used at night for sleeping. In the Japanese pattern, which is distinguished from the other two by the lack of permanent internal partitions, there are no private rooms as such nor is there any room that would be public at all times. Rather, the inhabitants of the Japanese dwelling circulate in the dwelling space in accordance to their needs and the function of the space. The living/entrance room in the Japanese dwelling is utilized differently from the dining room, the bedroom/storage room and the formal reception room, and the house occupants move from one space to another as different functions arise on various occasions. No real center is thus observable in the Japanese house. Yet the functional relations among all the rooms are evident when the sides or seats surrounding the heart are considered, especially when viewed diagonally, as has been shown in Fig. 74, and the interconnection among the cooking (and dining), sleeping, guest-entertaining and living spaces with the hearth seats become discernible. In this connection it is necessary to reconsider the opinion held by a number of architecture-historians (e.g. Kawashima 1978:90) that the Japanese dwelling space, characterized by single-purpose rooms, has developed from an original multifunctional one-room dwelling.



The seating arrangement of household members and guests, each of whom has his/her own role and status in daily life, division of labor and ritual, is a factor strong enough to be able to indicate the symbolic division of the whole dwelling space. The four named, ranked and functional seats thus correspond with and enhance the quadripartite pattern of the dwelling space. The difference between the original one-room dwelling and the contemporary TANOJI type is, as has already been argued above, in the option of recognizing spatial borders only conceptually or both conceptually and materially, in addition to the increased size of the contemporary dwelling.

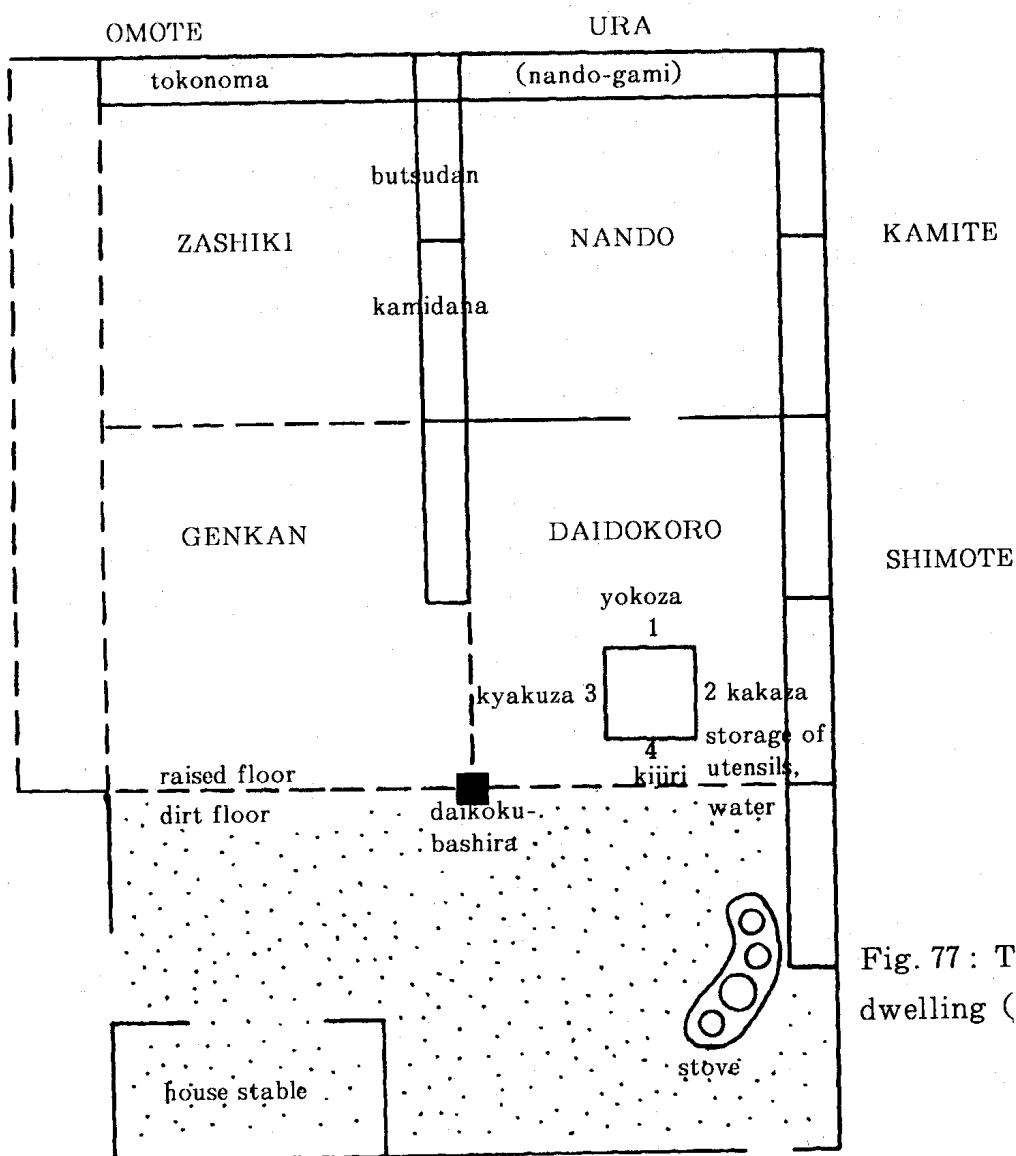


Fig. 77 : The Japanese dwelling (generalized)

In order to make this argument more specific, it will be necessary now to consider in a greater detail each of the four spaces that make up the residential part of the Japanese dwelling. The discussion will start with the room associated with cooking and dining (OYUE/DAIDOKORO), next will proceed to the bedroom and storage room (NANDO/HEYA), after that the formal guest room (ZASHIKI), and finally the entrance or living room (IMA/GENKAN). The discussion of the earth-floored space will be combined with that of the two spaces to which it is attached. Since the quadripartite pattern of the space arrangement of the Japanese dwelling is formed by two named bisected dualities (URA and OMOTE bisected by KAMITE and SHIMOTE), the discussion of that aspect will follow.

#### OYUE/DAIDOKORO

This space is located in the URA longitudinal half of the dwelling, between the sleeping/storage room and the cooking part of the earth-floored space. Its main distinctive feature is the presence of the hearth (IRORI, IRI, YURURI, YURUGI, IJIRO, INNAKA, ENNATA, HIDOKO, HIBITO, SHIBUTO, HITAKI, JIKARO etc.) in it, and as such, it is functionally closely related to the URA part of the earth-floored space (DOMA, NIWA) which likewise contains a fireplace, here in the form of an earthen stove (KAMADO, KUDO, HETTSUI etc.). The raised floor distinguishes it from the earthen space; in those dwellings where the floor is raised only in the KAMITE section (i.e. corresponding to the combined NANDO and ZASHIKI) or fully ground-level dwelling (now rare), the difference is expressed by mats laid on the ground around or on three sides (except KIJIRI) of the hearth. In several areas of eastern Japan, most notably in Tohoku, the earthen stove is absent and all the cooking, including that of rice, is done on the open hearth; on the other hand, in a number of areas in especially western Japan, the

hearth has disappeared altogether. The disappearance of the hearth is a process which is still currently taking place in Japan. In most parts of Japan, the open hearth and the stove coexist, but the latter is more important because it is used to prepare the staple foods, while the former is used for auxiliary cooking (tea etc.) and for heating. The proximity of the hearth to the stove is a spatial expression of the similarity in their functions, especially original ones (cooking of secondary and primary foods). The stabilization of the TANOJI pattern during the last two centuries has firmly installed the hearth and the stove in the URA section, before which it fluctuated anywhere between the center and URA.

The superiority of the stove over the hearth in cooking efficiency has caused the loss of importance of the open hearth, as the preparation of rice exclusively on the stove indicates. There seems to be little doubt that the open hearth is an older element than the earthen stove in Japan. The hearth was the only heating and cooking facility in the Jomon Era pithouses, as well as in the dwellings of early strata of most east Asian prehistoric cultures. The stove had existed in the Asian mainland for several centuries B.C. and appeared in Japan during the Kofun Era; subsequently, it made an appearance in northern Japan as the excavated Satsumon Culture pithouses indicate. Besides most parts of Japan, the two types of cooking fireplaces coexist in dwellings in several areas surrounding Japan (aboriginal Taiwan, Cheju Island until a few decades ago, the Maritime and Lower Amur regions, among the Sakhalin Ainu), and the stove has generally become dominant and the hearth redundant (except in Hokkaido where it disappeared with the demise of Satsumon Culture). This process has led to the disappearance of the open hearth and the predominant use of the earthen stove among the Paiwan, Koreans, Ulchi, Nanay, Nivkh etc. (among the last four ethnic groups, the hearth has survived until relatively recently). Indications from the areas of Tohoku where all the cooking is done on the hearth suggest that beliefs concerning the hearth to a great extent correspond with those concerning the stove in other areas of

Japan, thus implying that the gradual decrease in importance of the hearth is accompanied by the transfer of hearth symbolism to that of the stove. Correspondingly, in most parts of Japan the abode of HI-NO-KAMI is KAMADO rather than IRORI. According to Aruga (1968:262), etymological data also indicate that concepts related to the stove derived from those related to the hearth. Aruga supports Yanagita's suggestion that the word KAMADO originated from KAMA, i.e. rice pot, originally hung over the hearth, and the original meaning of KUDO is the central place in the hearth where the fire burns. The word KAMADO may have originally referred to the space where the open hearth is located, as it does in some regions at present. Thus, in an area of Shiga Prefecture, the residential room next to the earth-floored space is called KAMADO, while the stove itself is called NIWAKUDO. In an area in Kyoto Prefecture, the same space is called KANDO (but a writer cited by Aruga also raises the possibility of an etymology of 神戸). In numerous areas of western Japan (Kumamoto, Saga, Fukuoka, Ehime, Hiroshima Prefectures), the space surrounding the hearth is known as KAMAYA, while in an area of Shimane Prefecture the hearth is referred to as KUDOBATA (Aruga 1968:263). Just like the designations of the two fireplaces, the deity worshipped in the stove, i.e. KAMADO-GAMI, does not seem to have been originally different from the deity of the hearth; it is likely that the former has originated in the latter. Often in the areas where the hearth and stove coexist in one dwelling, the two deities are treated in common; e.g. the New Year MATSUKAZARI is given to both (Aruga 1968:263). Nevertheless, especially in western Japan, KAMADO has assumed a more decisive role in household beliefs and symbolism; e.g., in case of death, the fire in the stove is extinguished and a new one is lighted, or if the household head dies, sometimes the whole stove is destroyed and rebuilt. The term HI O WAKERU which refers to branching of a household specifically refers to the stove; but judging from similar expressions and customs of some peoples of northeast Asia, e.g. Nivkh, such term could have originally been used in relation to the hearth.

A number of researchers (e.g. Ishizuka 1954:11, Miyata 1983:150)

suggest that many of the Japanese household deities of the URA section are manifestations of an agricultural (grain) deity, and they include, to a larger or smaller extent depending on regions, HI-NO-KAMI and the more common at present KAMADO-GAMI which is a derivation of it. Despite individual characteristics, which mainly consist of associations with other deities (SUIJIN, KOJIN, DAIKOKU, EBISU, YAMA-NO-KAMI and countless others), the most important trait of the URA deities is that not only they are more or less connected with the agricultural deity TA-NO-KAMI, but they may be in a number of cases TA-NO-KAMI itself, at least seasonally, and in many areas (especially eastern Japan and the coast of the Sea of Japan) they perform seasonal migrations between the house and a place outside of it (field, mountain). The domestic manifestation of TA-NO-KAMI is generally considered as the guardian IE-NO-KAMI. Although KAMADO-GAMI may not in all areas be the center of the agricultural cult in the dwelling (as NANDO-GAMI may dominate in this respect), it nevertheless is in many ways tied to the domestic agricultural ritual.

Beliefs concerning KAMADO-GAMI are extremely heterogeneous. In some areas, KAMADO-GAMI of the kitchen cult is identified with KOJIN; in others, it is believed to be identical with OKAMA-SAMA. In turn, the former (KOJIN) is associated directly with HI-NO-KAMI and the latter (OKAMA-SAMA) with TA-NO-KAMI. In many regions of Japan, both deities are integrated into the beliefs concerning KAMADO; nevertheless, their identity remains distinct. Most researchers see a basic difference between eastern Japan with the functionally distinct KOJIN as HI-NO-KAMI and OKAMA-SAMA as TA-NO-KAMI (the latter subject to one of the types of seasonal movements as defined by Goda 1957), and western Japan where OKAMA-SAMA as TA-NO-KAMI is the fundament to which KOJIN adjoins. The functions of TA-NO-KAMI and HI-NO-KAMI are thus integrated. Hence, Yamagita's suggestion of the domestic agricultural cult gravitating toward KAMADO as the joint abode of HI-NO-KAMI and TA-NO-KAMI appears to be more applicable to western Japan where few cases of KAMADO completely devoid of agricultural symbolism have been reported, in contrast with eastern Japan (cf. Miyata

1983:150).

Other deities associated with this space are EBISU and DAIKOKU. Their wooden, metal or ceramic figurines are generally placed together on a shelf. These deities are of a vague character, and regionally may be identified as male or female or as a married couple. In some areas both or one of them may be identified as YAMA-NO-KAMI, if they are permanently or temporarily placed on a shelf in NANDO, they (he/she) become identified as NANDO-GAMI, UCHI-NO-KAMI, IE-NO-KAMI, etc. The concept of EBISU as a benefactor to fishermen applies to some communities, especially fishing ones, but often it is indistinguishable from DAIKOKU which generally has a distinct agricultural character, often being depicted as an old man seated on bales of rice or carrying them in his hands. Both deities are also identified with the main columns of the dwelling, and it is after the latter that the main column (DAIKOKU-BASHIRA) is named. Although the two deities are at present almost invariably placed together, their origins are derived from two distinct sources: DAIKOKU is thought to have originated in the Indian cosmology, but it has undergone a number of major metamorphoses of its character, especially in China where it took the shape of a guardian deity of eating places, and in rural Japan where it absorbed agricultural elements to such a degree that the folk-belief system in many localities does not clearly distinguish it from TA-NO-KAMI, while EBISU penetrated the agricultural villages from coastal areas where fishing is the principal economic pursuit and also assumed an agricultural character similar to that of DAIKOKU and of TA-NO-KAMI (cf. Ishizuka 1954:11). EBISU being close in nature to DAIKOKU, in spite of its identification with EBISU-BASHIRA, it is more typically associated with DAIKOKU-BASHIRA to which the EBISU-DAIKOKU, or FUKUJIN, shelf is often attached. Ultimately, not only the shelf with the figurines but the DAIKOKU-BASHIRA itself is the abode of the house-protecting agricultural deity DAIKOKU (DAIKOKU/EBISU). The relevance of agricultural symbolism to the central column is particularly evident in the southwestern islands, e.g. Amami-Oshima, where rice bundles connected with a variety of beliefs are

hung from this column (Muratake 1985:357).

The kitchen space thus contains two focuses of the agricultural deity, i.e. the stove (KAMADO; KAMADO-GAMI) and the central column (DAIKOKU-BASHIRA; EBISU-DAIKOKU), and both can be viewed as domestic manifestations of TA-NO-KAMI. The two separate locations do not necessarily represent contradiction as the beliefs concerning KAMADO-GAMI were originally pertinent to the open hearth which, like the DAIKOKU-BASHIRA, is associated with the concept of centrality in the house. There are still areas in Japan where the hearth is placed at the foot of the DAIKOKU-BASHIRA (cf. Fig. 69 a), with the space between them being the household head's seat-of-honor YOKOZA. (This fact may perhaps have contributed to the popular reference to the household head as the DAIKOKU-BASHIRA of the household.)

The ceremonial practitioner to all the deities of this space (including the water deity SUIJIN) is the housewife who is in charge of all the offerings and their preparation. The prominence of these deities is evident on calendrical events associated with the annual agricultural cycle.

Being the location of the hearth, i.e. the area of the household's gatherings, and of the residences of an agricultural deity of a major importance, which acts as a guardian deity in association with the dwelling, this space is considered to be the core of the household. In Aruga's (1968:265-267) view, the conceptual centrality of this room is evident in the dialectal designations of OIE, OI, OE, OYUE, OUE etc. For example, in Ishikawa Prefecture OE refers to a part of the earth-floored space, behind which are the remaining rooms DEI and NANDO, in Akita Prefecture it refers to the room with the hearth, etc. Its distribution is especially extensive in Akita, Niigata (especially Sado Island), Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui, Nagano and northern Gifu Prefectures, and scattered sporadically in areas of western Japan, such as the northern (San'in) parts of Chugoku (Sugimoto 1969:148). In Hokuriku it consistently refers to the room with the hearth; however, in other regions the meaning sometimes applies to different rooms of the dwelling. Among interpretations of the

etymology of this term, Yanagita's IE 'house' or UE 'above', both preceded by the honorific O-, are accepted most. Aruga (1968:267) considers the former as more plausible, as the original Japanese dwelling was an unpartitioned space with a hearth in its center, and its modern analogy is the room that contains the hearth, thus the reference to the room with the hearth represents a semantic shift from the original 'house'. The connotation of the designation OIE as applied to the hearth room thus becomes 'house proper'. Aruga supports his argument by the fact that in many regions the term OIE is a term that simultaneously signifies HONKE, especially as referred to by members of BUNKE. (But, it appears that other terms unrelated to the meaning of 'house' as well can simultaneously express the same two concepts, for example in a region of Nagano Prefecture the term OMAE/OME likewise refers to 1. a room with the hearth and 2. HONKE - Sugimoto 1969:148).

Just as the term OIE or one derived from it may signify different rooms in different regions, a multitude of other terms that elsewhere refer to the three other rooms or the earth-floored space may be used to mean the room with the hearth. The terms DAIDOKORO and KATTE illustrate the functional connection of this room with the URA part of the earth-floored space where the actual cooking is done. Terms such as NANDO, NANSHO etc. suggest that, like the room behind it, various items may be stored there, and NEMA, NEYA etc. point to the fact that the room may be used for sleeping by certain individuals, often children. Terms like CHANOMA, IMA, DEI, ZASHIKI, HIROMA, NAKAMA, NAKAI, TOKONOMA, JOI, NYUJI, INOMA, HOTOKEANNOMA, ITANOMA etc., which in various regions refer to the room with the hearth (or main hearth), may be used in other regions to signify any other rooms of the house as well. It should be pointed out again that, like in the case of the above-discussed hearth-side seats, these designations should be considered in terms of tendencies. However, in those cases where the hearth room designation coincides or corresponds with a hearth side designation (NABEZA, KOZA, SHIMONOMA, UCHINOZA, OKUNOMA, OKUNOZA, SUENMA, CHANEZA, IRORIBATA, IWATE, AGARIHANA, OCHIZA etc.), the correspondence with the female seats is



consistent.

The hearth room and the section of the earthen space attached to it are characterized by activities performed by women and by altars and cults that are feminine concerns. The same applies to the space NANDO behind it.

#### NANDO/HEYA

This fully enclosed room is formed by the bisection of the URA and KAMITE halves, and many researchers consider it to be the core of the dwelling, being the center of the agricultural, domestic and formerly ancestral cult, as well as the storage space for the household's precious possessions. It is the only room in the dwelling which has solid walls made of wooden planks, and the only communication link with it is the usually wooden door opening to the OYUE/DAIDOKORO, which contrasts with the other linkage points in the dwelling, i.e. FUSUMA and SHOJI. No direct communication between this room and the OMOTE side exists. Darkness is maintained in this room by the lack of a window, or the presence of only a small window.

The term NANDO, which emphasizes the function of storage, and its derivations (ADANANDO, OKUNANDO, NANDOBEYA, NANDOZUMAI etc.), is the most common of all terms in all areas of Japan and has been in use since Muromachi Period (Otsuka 1972:525). Variations of CHODAI (CHODA, CHONDA, CHIDA, CHIBA) are common in Izu islands of Tokyo Prefecture, along the Japan sea coast etc. and are derived from the 棚 of BUKE houses. Other terms describe its use for sleeping: NENJO, NABIKITSU, NEDOKO, NEBEYA, NEJIKI, NEYA etc., yet others emphasize its fully interior location (UCHIMA, OKUNOMA etc.) (Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939). It has been suggested that its regional designation KONOMIYAJO refers to its function as a delivery space (Makita 1981:91). The fact that in many regions throughout Japan this room is referred to simply as HEYA 'room' is an indication of its special and secluded character distinct from

the other rooms.

Being the most isolated and interior room, forbidden to any outside person, it is the place to keep the most important possessions such as documents, money etc. Grains, clothing, objects not in daily use are kept there as well. This aspect makes NANDO functionally indistinguishable from the store house (KURA), and it will be seen below that the analogy includes also symbolic and ritual aspects.

In many, in the past probably most, regions of Japan, this room is the residence of the house-protecting deity most commonly known as NANDO-GAMI. According to Ishizuka (1954), the distribution of it at present inclines toward western Japan. Regionally (e.g. Hyogo Prefecture), this deity may also be called OKU-NO-KAMI or UCHI-NO-KAMI. Its distribution under various designations is particularly compact in the San'in parts of Chugoku, Kii Peninsula, all of Kyushu etc. Its significance at present has been weakened as a result of the formalization of the Buddhist and Shintoist cults on the domestic level; however, there are regions where the NANDO-GAMI cult still plays a very important role in domestic and agricultural rituals (e.g. Oki islands in Shimane Prefecture). Recent reports indicate that in eastern Japan its distribution and importance is not as negligible as has been generally considered, and its presence has been reported from Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Chiba etc. (Kyoiku Iinkai), under the name OTANASAMA in Yamagata, Miyagi, Fukushima and Akita Prefectures (Iijima 1986:206-207), etc. In some areas of Tohoku, the deity residing in NANDO is identified as the predominantly female YAMA-NO-KAMI, but it is less important as a house deity because of its less direct agricultural character. In various localities, it may be identical with EBISU and/or DAIKOKU (interpreted according to local beliefs), whose wooden or stone images may be placed on a shelf in NANDO, and numerous other deities of both inside and outside the house. Despite the variation in identity of this deity, its functions are common in all areas of Japan: 1. It is a women's deity, assisting in fecundity, childbirth, and raising of children, and as such, it is venerated by the women of the household,

YASHIKI-GAMI

KAWAYA-GAMI

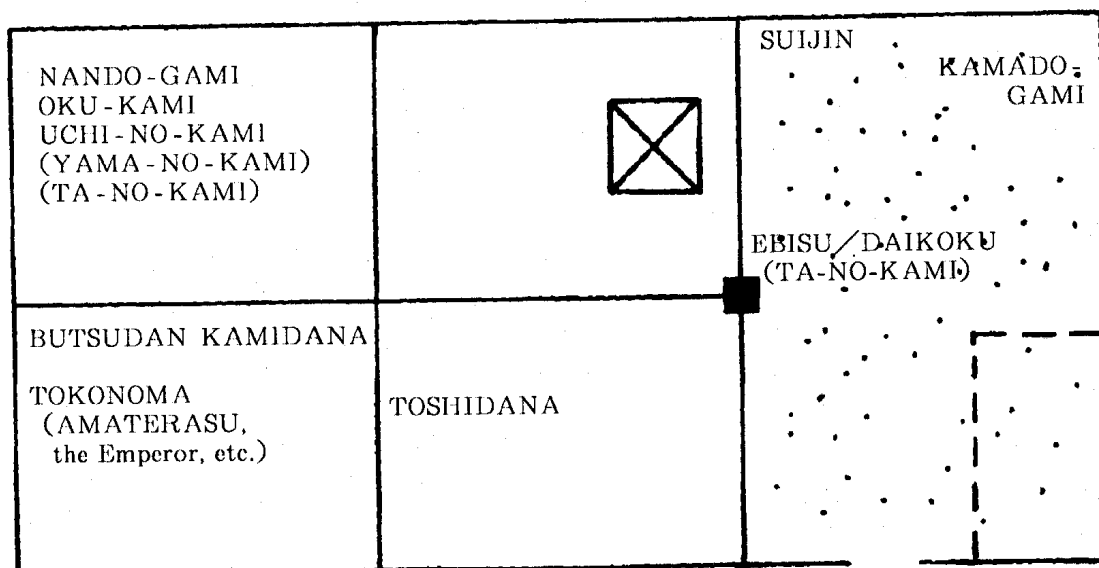


Fig. 78: Location of altars and deities in some Japanese dwellings

represented by the housewife. The deity itself is consistently of the female sex. 2. It is an agricultural deity in all the aspects of cultivation of rice and other crops, a grain spirit, simultaneously a deity that causes fertility, and as TA-NO-KAMI it is a guardian deity that assists in all the aspects of agricultural labor and growth of agricultural plants. 3. It is an ancestral deity; this quality has however been overshadowed by the official sect-Buddhist shelf (BUTSUDAN) placed in OMOTE that has begun to dominate the household since the Middle Ages.

Although NANDO is a bedroom that accommodates the household head and the housewife, its distinctive feature is its feminine character, as it is predominantly the domain of the housewife. As Ishizuka's informant described it, "NANDO is a woman's room and the woman must protect it". In this informant's village, delivery takes place in NANDO, and women seclude themselves there at menstruation (Makita 1981:93). Examining an ethnographic trait distribution map, it is evident that at the present time of all the four delivery locations (NANDO, a secluded section of DOMA, an uninhabited space in the adjacent economic buildings or annexes of the estate, a specially built delivery hut UBUYA), the NANDO delivery is distributed the most extensively, and it has probably

increased after the gradual demise of UBUYA in the recent past. Assisting in delivery is the deity UBUGAMI which, if it takes place in NANDO, is identical with NANDO-GAMI, especially its YAMA-NO-KAMI characteristics that penetrate it in smaller and greater degrees depending on region and season. The YAMA-NO-KAMI elements, often in the female form, predominate in areas of Tohoku and may represent an ancient, pre-agricultural stratum that has later absorbed agricultural traits (Naumann 1963, Hori 1968:178). NANDO-GAMI is considered to be exclusively female, even in those cases where its image is a male EBISU. The identification of NANDO-GAMI as a female deity can be illustrated by the installation of an image of the syncretic MARIA-KANNON by the KAKURE-KIRISHITAN ("Hidden Christians") in NANDO where it was worshipped (Ishigami 1983:953).

Corresponding with the fact that NANDO-GAMI is consistently regarded to be a female deity, the authority over rituals addressed to and over the space of the NANDO room is held by the housewife. Possession of such authority is an important symbol of the housewife's status, and just as handing the SHAMOJI for scooping cooked rice over to the younger wife by the older signifies the transfer of status, passing of a key to NANDO to her expresses the same notion (Kawashima 1978:108). In every region it is the housewife who makes and offers seed rice (TANEMOMI) and other objects to the deity of NANDO. In Ishizuka's (1954:40) words, NANDO symbolism involves a woman venerating a female deity in the feminine space.

NANDO-GAMI combines in itself elements of TOSHI-GAMI (TOSHI-TOKO-GAMI etc.), TA-NO-KAMI (NO-GAMI, SAKU-GAMI, TSUKURI-GAMI, INOKAMI etc.), an ancestral deity, regionally YAMA-NO-KAMI (in some areas indirectly as the TA-NO-KAMI that migrates seasonally from or to the mountain as YAMA-NO-KAMI and the house as IE-NO-KAMI; cf. Goda 1957), EBISU-DAIKOKU etc. The east Japanese OSHIRASAMA, OKONASAMA, OSHINMESAMA and OTANASAMA appear to be related, being household agricultural deities worshipped by women; however, except for OTANASAMA, their altar is not located in NANDO but in OMOTE in association with KAMIDANA or BUTSUDAN. The

agricultural character of NANDO-GAMI is stressed by the fact that its image is an agricultural item. Yanagita has pointed out that this custom to "enshrine an ear of rice, a seed of unhulled rice, or rice, in the small secluded bedroom of the house mistress" is scattered throughout Japan (Miyata 1983:153). Often it consists of a rice bin (KOMEBITSU) placed on a high shelf in one corner of NANDO, into which the housewife inserts rice or MOCHI and erects a part of SAKAKI tree. The image of NANDO-GAMI may be a straw rice bag (KOMEDAWARA) in which seed rice (TANEMOMI) or rice straws (INAWARA) are put (Tsuboi 1985:215, 216, Makita 1981:91, Muratake 1985:350).

In most areas, the most important date in relation to NANDO-GAMI is the New Year's Day when it becomes indistinguishable from TOSHIGAMI, itself a manifestation of TA-NO-KAMI, and in an area studied by Ishizuka (1954:13), a certain amount of uncooked rice, one piece of MOCHI, twelve persimmons, chestnuts, etc. are offered to it. While in some areas it is worshipped on the New Year's Day in NANDO, in other areas it is taken out of NANDO to IMA on New Year's Eve where it remains for two weeks, after which it is returned to NANDO (Ishizuka 1954:13). Besides the New Year, in many localities similar agricultural items are offered on the 1st, 14th or 15th and occasionally 28th day of each month; on these days OMIKI and rice are offered (Ishizuka 1954:14). Two other major ceremonies involving NANDO-GAMI take place in early spring when the deity, assuming the full character of TA-NO-KAMI, is sent away to the field to assist in agricultural labor and growth of rice plants, and in autumn when TA-NO-KAMI is returned and welcomed to the household. These two ceremonies (perhaps the most elaborate in Noto Peninsula) are analogous to those that mark the periods of migration of the agricultural deity between the field in summer and the mountains (and/or heaven) in winter.

Stages of the annual agricultural cycle are marked by rituals performed by the housewife in NANDO, and each stage of agricultural work is marked by domestic ceremonies, e.g. NAWASHIRO IWAI, May planting MATSURI, autumn HOGAKE events, INEKARI IWAI, October INOKO; on these occasions, commonly rice and

MOCHI are placed and SAKAKI erected in the rice bin in the corner of NANDO (Tsuboi 1985:216).

NANDO-GAMI may therefore be characterized as a house-protecting deity that assists especially women in their function of delivery, and at the same time an agricultural deity. The two concerns of NANDO-GAMI are unified by the fact that it does not distinguish between human and vegetal procreation. Yanagita has pointed out the significance of NIINAME, in which birth of the grain spirit is begged in NANDO. The householding couple sleeping on top of rice straws with the purpose of causing fertility of grain has been reported from many regions of Japan. The same practice exists in Okinawa, but there it concerns the SHIRA stack rather than the bedroom. Thus, NANDO is a secluded space intended not only for human birth, but also for the production of rice (Ishizuka 1954:37, Makita 1981:91, Miyata 1983:154, Tsuboi 1985:216, Muratake 1985:351-353). The term that designates this room as KONOMIYAJŌ, which has been interpreted as based on the word KO 'child' (e.g. Yanagita and Yamaguchi 1939:139) also may point to the importance of this room and its procreative function.

Muratake (1985:355) sees NANDO as a nucleus of the Japanese dwelling because of its ritual importance and its interiority. However, it cannot be considered to be functionally an entirely unique part of the dwelling, as the whole URA half of the dwelling is underlain by a common symbolism based on the close connection between the agricultural and domestic cults, and by the fact that the space and its ritual aspects is under the full control of the housewife. There are also indications of a close correspondence of the ritual character of NANDO with that of the attic, and perhaps in extension also the ridge. In several areas agricultural rituals analogous to those directed to NANDO-GAMI (spring and autumn) are focused on the seed rice (TANEMOMI) hung under the ridge (Muratake 1985:355). The agricultural deity of the attic may be represented by straw figurines which, as Akata (1983:78) suggests, may be installed in the attic at the MUNEAGE ('ridge-raising') ceremony. They appear to be related to the HINANINGYO that are prominent at the MUNEAGE ceremony in certain

regions of Tohoku. They are placed on the column or the ridge and are believed to be the guardian deity of the household, guaranteeing its continuity. Rice-straw figurines as abodes of the rice-plant spirit and household guardian deities are installed in the house at the MUNEAGE ceremony in Nara Prefecture (Akata 1983:78, 79).

The nature of NANDO also very closely resembles that of the granary. Most researchers agree that the term KURA originally means not only the granary or storage place, but also the shrine, as the etymology of the term HOKURA (small shrine) 'ear (of grain) storage house' testifies, indicating the location of an agricultural cult. Makita (1981:93), citing an earlier work mentions that MIKURATANOKAMI (MI-KURA-TA-NO-KAMI), a rice-grain spirit, is in a certain locality worshipped in the granary. KURADANA refers to the shelf upon which offerings are placed. In most localities, however, little differentiation is made between the deities of NANDO and the granary. In the regions studied by Ishizuka (1954:15), EBISU is identified as NANDO-GAMI but is worshipped in the granary. In others, the altar for TOSHITOKO-SAN is not always in NANDO, but also in a corner of the granary on a shelf with MUSHIRO, KOMEDAWARA and GOZEN as its abodes (Makita 1981:93). In many areas there is a free choice between worshipping TOSHIGAMI-SAN on New Year's Day in NANDO or in KURA (cf. Muratake 1985:353). In various localities in northern Chugoku there is a complete correspondence between KURA and NANDO concerning the domestic and agricultural cult; however, the granary tends to be preferred, as households that possess one generally tend to hold their agricultural rituals there rather than in NANDO. Thus the choice between the granary and NANDO depends on the economic status of the household and consequently, a single locality is often divided among households that worship NANDO-GAMI in NANDO and those that worship a corresponding manifestation of TA-NO-KAMI in the granary. The location of KURA corresponds with that of NANDO, as both are placed in the URA part, the former of the estate and the latter of the dwelling.

## ZASHIKI/KAMINOMA and IMA/GENKAN

The room ZASHIKI is formed by the overlapping of the OMOTE and KAMITE halves; regionally, both OMOTE (OMOTENOMA, UMUTEI etc.) and KAMITE (KAMINOMA, KAMIZA etc.) may refer specifically to this room (e.g. Okayama, Hiroshima, Tottori, Ehime, Miyazaki, Kagoshima Prefectures). The term ZASHIKI is probably the most common, etymologically emphasizing the TATAMI mats which characterize this space, where they historically originated and from where they spread to other parts of the house floor. OKUZA (OKUNOMA etc.) is also a common designation of this room, indicating its distance from the main entrance. TOKONOMA is another widespread term (Kyushu, Shikoku, but also Aomori and Akita Prefectures); it has generalized from the conspicuous, semi-religious landmark that typifies this room. In many regions, the same term applies to both of the OMOTE rooms, in which case the prefixes KAMI and SHIMO distinguish them; e.g. KAMIDE for the formal guest room and SHIMODE for the entrance room.

The character of this room is radically different from those of URA. Large windows that simultaneously serve as entrances for high-ranking guests (e.g. Buddhist and Shintoist priests, certain selected guests at weddings and funerals) keep this space bright; the "great tradition" altars are there, as are the TOKONOMA, CHIG Aidana and other evidences of the influences from aristocratic BUKE houses and the culture of the upper social stratum. Formal ceremonies are held in ZASHIKI, away from the familial atmosphere, and thus the HARE aspect of ritual purity is emphasized. In many areas of Japan, menstruating women are not allowed to enter this space.

ZASHIKI is a product of the feudal era; however, it would be a mistake to interpret its presence in the rural dwelling as a completely artificial space that has appeared solely as a result of official decrees from either religious or secular sources; the decree issued by the Edo bakufu requiring each household to possess a BUTSUDAN altar for sect identification appeared when



the penetration of Buddhist altars into rural dwellings was almost finalized (cf. Miyata 1983:161). First, its choice of space is in no conflict with the previously existing order in the dwelling, i.e., it is located on the side that is the least associated with feminine activities, as there are reasons to believe that the general division of space that is coordinated with the seating arrangement around the hearth is older than the feudal era introductions. The location of BUTSUDAN and ZASHIKI corresponds with the diagonal direction of the hearth corner of the household head and the male guest, as shown above. Second, the origin of BUTSUDAN is hardly attributable exclusively to any decree; as the household ancestral cult, focused on the guardian HOTOKE and SENZOSAMA had been the core of household beliefs prior to the medieval introductions, although it was directly associated with agriculture, was worshipped by women and its location was NANDO and/or other parts of the URA side of the dwelling. BUTSUDAN represents a continuation of this tradition, however without its sediment of folk tradition, agricultural and feminine aspects, but its house-protecting capacity to a large extent intact. Likewise, the Shintoist altar KAMIDANA is not an entirely external object within the dwelling. Although it is associated with a major shrine, it nevertheless includes numerous folk-religious elements, such as the phallic cult which is not directly linked to a particular shrine (e.g. in Miyagi and Fukushima Prefectures). The integration of BUTSUDAN and KAMIDANA into the household belief system is especially strong in Tohoku, where the OSHIRASAMA cult is associated with one or both of them; however, the externalization process of the household cult in Tohoku was probably never as drastic as in western and most parts of eastern Japan, because the OMOTE side there, dominated by the HIROMA hearth room, had always tended to be the location of the household cult, rather than the row of small rooms that constitute the URA section. On the other hand, the TOKONOMA appears to be genuinely artificial and non-functional in religious aspects in all parts of Japan except the Ryukyu Islands.

The room that borders on ZASHIKI and the OMOTE part of DOMA is

in many ways related in character to ZASHIKI. This IMA 'living room', GENKAN 'entrance room' (SHIMONOMA, SOTONOMA, WAKINOMA, DEI, OMAE, AGARITE, MAENOZA, YORIKUCHI etc.) may contain KAMIDANA or more rarely BUTSUDAN instead of ZASHIKI (but never TOKONOMA), in which case they are generally attached, as in the case of ZASHIKI, to the wall that forms the border with URA. In large gatherings, the two rooms are connected by removing partitions between them, and two rows of guests and household members are formed between TOKONOMA, which becomes the KAMIZA seat for higher ranking individuals, and DOMA, toward which SHIMOZA seats are located. This room also serves as the entrance where the guests are greeted, and if they are of a lower rank or if the occasion is not formal, they may be received there without being ushered to ZASHIKI. Such guests tend to be neighbors or close relatives, hence not complete outsiders, which corresponds with the character of this room, also functioning as an informal living room for the household members, similar in character to the OYUE/DAIDOKORO hearth room. Likewise, its spatial value in comparison to ZASHIKI on the one hand and the OYUE/DAIDOKORO on the other is the same, i.e. inferior to both. This is illustrated by the seating arrangement of large gatherings that take place not in a combined IMA-ZASHIKI space a combined IMA-OYUE space. As Aruga (1968:287) discussed and analyzed it, the lower-ranking guests tend to occupy seats in the IMA section (in his example, its designation is OYUE-NO-SHIMO), while higher-ranking individuals take their seats in OYUE (-NO-KAMI). This aspect returns the discussion to the core of this study, the quadripartite pattern of space division, as it is now possible to observe that spatial value ascends not in one, but two directions from the lowest space of the entrance area, toward ZASHIKI and toward the hearth room, accompanied by two-directional definition of SHIMO-KAMI/exterior-interior, the sum of which is the analytical (unrecognized by indigenous cognition) diagonal line from the entrance to NANDO, which has already been discussed in relation to the corner between KYAKUZA and KIJIRI at the lowest end and YOKOZA and KAKAZA at the highest end of the hearth. Consideration of this matter is the subject of the next

paragraph.

#### OMOTE-URA and SHIMOTE-KAMITE

Considering the differences between the OMOTE and URA halves of the Japanese dwelling in terms of binary oppositions has been quite common among researchers. Thus for example, Miyata (1983:170), in his two column list of opposition pairs pertinent to the dwelling, associates OMOTE with the concepts of "male, public, exterior" etc., and URA with "female, private, interior" etc. Such a view appears to be an indisputable fact: 1. (male-female) In correspondence with the KYAKUZA hearth seat, which is in fact a male seat most often occupied by the eldest son, the OMOTE longitudinal half is a space connected with men's activities, and in correspondence with the female KAKAZA, the URA space with its kitchen, agricultural cult and conception and delivery (human and vegetal) area is a space of feminine concerns. The longitudinal sexual dichotomy is especially evident in the earth-floored space (DOMA), which is a non-residential, working area, hence with clearly discernible division of labor according to sex. The stove and storage of water and foodstuffs are located on the URA side of DOMA, while the horse stable (MAYA) and storage of tools as a rule is on the OMOTE side. The spatial division of labor according to sex in DOMA is especially visible on a rainy day, when an adult member of each sex hardly ever trespasses the conceptual OMOTE-URA border, using separate entrances for communicating with the outside world; in many areas, the designation of these entrances is determined after the husband and the wife, e.g. OTOGUCHI on the OMOTE side and TSUMADO on the URA side in Yamaguchi Prefecture (Furuie 1981:181). 2. (public-private) The OMOTE half is the exclusive area to entertain guests, and the room ZASHIKI, as well as the corresponding hearth seat KYAKUZA, are specifically distinguished for this purpose. Likewise, the room IMA/GENKAN, also of OMOTE, is used to greet and receive guests, who generally

enter from the main OMOTE entrance to IMA/GENKAN via DOMA, or on ceremonial occasions directly to IMA/GENKAN (only special guests may enter directly from outside to ZASHIKI; cf. Furuie 1981:186, Aruga 1968:269-278, Oma 1986:157). The altars of OMOTE (BUTSUDAN, KAMIDANA and the semi-secular TOKONOMA) emphasize the public character of this section, being ones of external religions which are not limited to a household cult. The brightness of the OMOTE rooms is enhanced by removing the AMADO, thus making the OMOTE half practically a roofed veranda in summer and increasing its public character. On the other hand, URA is enclosed, darker and more private. Among these non-members of the household who have access to the URA side are female relatives and neighborhood women, and at meals or other gatherings that take place around the hearth, close male relatives and members of HONKE or OYAKATA. The private character of the dwelling is maintained most strictly in NANDO. The cult that characterizes this section, based on beliefs more or less directly connected with TA-NO-KAMI, is also of private and inconspicuous nature, in spite of its central importance, in contrast with the Buddhist and Shintoist "great traditions" of OMOTE. 3. (exterior-interior) As already mentioned, any part of OMOTE can be used as entrance, with the main entrance being in the DOMA section of OMOTE. On the other hand URA may be entered only through OMOTE or through the small entrance at the back. Especially interior is NANDO, being the farthest away from the main entrance and being fully enclosed by walls. It is thus possible to furnish Miyata's categories with equation marks: male=public=exterior=OMOTE and female=private=interior=URA.

For the purposes of the household's life and prosperity, the deity (deities) of the URA section play a decisive role, protecting the household's nutrition and continuity. In the same way, the URA section is the core of the household's life, being the point of concentration of both the cult and the wealth. It has been shown that the hearth space can be considered to be a core of the household, to which all the members gravitate. Agricultural and ancestral cults are located in the fire place and the main column (DAIKOKU-BASHIRA), which are generally in the same area; in fact,

this area is associated with actual centrality as there are historical indications that the hearth and the main column were originally placed in the physical center of the dwelling space. In the Japanese dwelling, the concept of "back" (URA) thus coincides with centrality. According to Muratake (1985:355), within this center, the real nucleus is NANDO. To him, the Japanese rural dwelling space can be seen as concentric, with several peripheral circles of which OMOTE is one and NANDO is their center. Such a view seems to be illustrated by those dwellings that contain two rooms annexed to the KAMITE section of the dwelling (Fig. 79 c). In

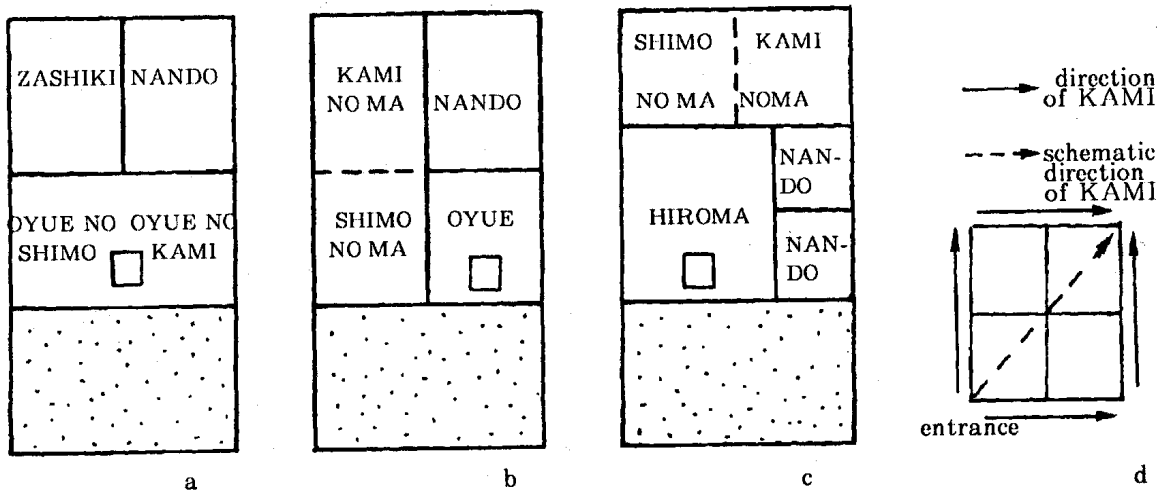


Fig. 79

that case, that side assumes the function of a perpendicularly duplicated OMOTE, with TOKONOMA in the room behind NANDO; this room is in almost all cases distinguished from that behind the space that corresponds with ZASHIKI by the prefix KAMI. If BUTSUDAN is not located elsewhere, it is generally in this room, attached to the NANDO wall. Although such patterns are rather rare, wherever they do occur they inevitably assume this form (cf. house plans in the "Nihon no minzoku" series, e.g. Ibaraki Prefecture, Chiba Prefecture volumes). This is related to similar patterns of the formal rooms being attached to the HIROMA type of dwelling. This directly leads to the two-directional cognition of the KAMI-SHIMO concept, as the above examples may be interpreted as both a concentric pattern of peripheral rooms surrounding the core, but also as the concept of KAMI ascending in two directions

to meet in the NANDO corner, or the concept of SHIMO descending in two directions to meet at the entrance.

Tsuboi (1985:20-22) in his discussion of the lexical aspects of the seating arrangement around the hearth in the Japanese dwelling points out that designations of the housewife's seat include regionally a large number of honorific terms, unproportionate to designations of other seats, and often correspond with the honorific terms of address or reference for the housewife. Referring to a study by Yanagita, he lists several designations of 'housewife' that indicate her superior status in the house. Among these are KAMIGATA, OEHAN, OIEHAN (the same term is used to refer to HONKE members by BUNKE members), GONZEN, GOSSAN, TOMOE, OKATA, OENUSHI, INOSHI, ENUSHI (all derived from 'house owner'), all of which refer exclusively to the housewife and no other household member. Application of such honorific terms to the hearth side which is the housewife's domain automatically confer a superior status to it. Such is, according to Tsuboi (1985:20-21), the ENUSHIZA and KASHIKIZA of an area in Aomori Prefecture, WAKATA in a region of Hyogo Prefecture, WAGAZA (上方座) of Kochi, WATE, WABA of Shimane (both of which may signify the whole room where the hearth is located), KAKAZASHIKI in a locality of Hiroshima Prefecture is simultaneously referred to as SORAZASHIKI, indicating a high place and thus a high person, or vice-versa. The same housewife's seat, according to Tsuboi, in the mountainous area of western Tokyo is known as KAMIZA, in Tochigi KAMINZASHIKI, in Gunma KAMISANZASHIKI, in Okayama KAMIZA, KENZA etc.

Continuing his argument, Tsuboi (1985:22) contrasts these terms to the household head's seat terminology, e.g. YOKOZA, TEISHUZA, UYAZASHIKI, URAZA, OKUZA, NISHIZA, which are purely descriptive and devoid of any indication of reverence, thus pointing to the peripheral and secondary role of the household head within the house in contrast with the housewife. Hence, Tsuboi says, like the status of the housewife herself, her seat is considered to be the core of the seating arrangement around the hearth, as well as a point of reference for all the other seats, thus YOKOZA signifies 'side seat' as seen by the housewife, and this corresponds with its

actual value, i.e. being lateral rather than principal, as well as with that of its occupant. While it may be possible to accept Tsuboi's contrasting of the housewife's and the household head's seats on the grounds that they are the two main seats among the four that surround the hearth, pertain to the representatives of the sexes in the household, and that they are the only seats that under normal circumstances must obligatorily be occupied by their possessors, i.e. the housewife and the household head, it is also necessary to argue that before such a comparison can be done, the axial oppositions should be defined. In other words, investigating oppositions in a quadripartite pattern, the first step is to treat separately each of the two perpendicularly bisected oppositions, in this case YOKOZA versus KIJIRI and KAKAZA versus KYAKUZA. Aruga's (1968) case of the dwelling in Shiozu, Shiga Prefecture, as well as in Amazu, Fukui Prefecture, and in many similar instances scattered throughout Japan, tend to support Tsuboi's suggestion of the spatial superiority of the housewife's side of the dwelling. Aruga's model shows that the two sections of the room corresponding with the housewife's and guest's seat are conceptually distinguished and hierarchized, the former being superior to the latter, which is also indicated by the lexical designation of KAMI for the former and SHIMO for the latter. Aruga (1968:287, 292) further argues that the superiority of the former to the latter can be observed during gatherings, ritual or secular, of kin or community, in which the HONKE or OYAKATA members sit in the area corresponding with the KAMI division and BUNKE and KOKATA with SHIMO. This fact is especially observable in the case of the hearth located in only the KAMI area, or if there are two hearths, one located in the URA (KAMI) area and the other in the OMOTE (SHIMO) area, in which there is a tendency of separation of the two groups into their appropriate territories. In this case, therefore, the upper status group (HONKE, OYAKATA) would coincide with the housewife's or female area while the lower status group (BUNKE, KOKATA) would correspond with the guests'/male area. (Naturally, no such correspondences arise when the gatherings are arranged longitudinally in OMOTE.)

The preeminence of URA over OMOTE, in agreement with the preeminence of KAKAZA over KYAKUZA, clearly shows the housewife's superior status over the eldest son, despite his indispensability in the household's continuity: not only that the URA seat (KAKAZA) is in all parts of Japan recognized as superior to the OMOTE one (KYAKUZA), but also the latter properly belongs to a guest, in whose presence the eldest son who in daily life normally occupies it moves to another place, while the housewife has her own fixed seat that may not be claimed by any other person.

A factual error made by Tsuboi, besides his failure to recognize the hearth sides as two perpendicularly arranged sets of oppositions (i.e., his fall into the trap of interpreting the dwelling space in terms of oppositions arranged unidimensionally) is that in reality, as discussed above, the male seat opposite the housewife's is in a large number of localities (especially in Nagano, Hyogo, Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi and Fukuoka Prefectures) referred to as KAMIZA and correspondingly the housewife's seat is or by implication may be called SHIMOZA. However, this does not conform to the overall conceptual pattern of the dwelling, and should be seen as a result of the prestige that the OMOTE half has been steadily gaining since the latter part of the feudal era and especially during the early Modern Era, when organized religions penetrated peasant dwellings, establishing themselves in the ZASHIKI division of the OMOTE side which has become the center of HARE purity of the dwelling.

In any case, the KAMI-SHIMO dichotomy that coincides with the KAMITE-SHIMOTE halves of the dwelling overshadows that pertaining to URA-OMOTE, although URA is undoubtedly more significant than OMOTE in terms of household matters, and a number of facts indicate its concern with the upward direction (e.g., the OKATE 'mountain side' designation of URA as opposed to OKITE 'sea side' that refers to OMOTE; the YAMA-NO-KAMI symbolism, either direct or through the mediation of TA-NO-KAMI, itself often a manifestation of the mountain deity; the symbolic homology between URA, especially NANDO, and the attic, which is another



important center of the agricultural ritual). The character of the perpendicular, primary KAMI-SHIMO division is much less clearly marked by the sexual dichotomy implications, which is illustrated by the low occurrence of the designation of the household head's seat as OTOKOZA. This is not to say that YOKOZA is a sexually neutral seat; it is definitely a male seat, and the transverse division corresponding to it likewise is predominantly male, as the informal seating arrangement, in which male members of the household are seated behind or beside the household head and daughters parallelly with the men's row beside the housewife (Fig. 71), indicates. Rather, to render Tsuboi's suggestion more precise, when only the primary sexual dichotomy (i.e. longitudinal; URA-OMOTE) is considered, the feminine URA/KAKAZA indeed predominates over the masculine OMOTE/KYAKUZA; however, aside from the direct dominance of one sex over the other, the status of the household head, as well as of the KAMITE half marked by the presence of the most important household altars (BUTSUDAN, NANDO-GAMI rice baskets), and the YOKOZA seat which includes the largest number of honorific designations of all the four seats (KAMIZA, UWAZA 'upper seat' - Shizuoka Prefecture, HONZA 'real' - Kumamoto, SHUZA 'main' - Saitama, TAKAZA 'high' - Fukuoka, SORA 'sky' - Yamanashi, etc. - source: Kyoiku Iinkai; all unnoticed by Tsuboi), being conspicuously superior is an indisputable fact. In other words, despite the spatial favoring of the female element over the male in the Japanese dwelling space, and the centrality of the former, the role of the household head as the leader of the household is abundantly expressed in the dwelling space. However, his role may resemble that of a figurehead, the KAMITE being socially non-functional, essentially a ritual area, and a half of it (NANDO) being practically a foreign territory to him. Viewed from this context, Tsuboi's analysis of the dwelling space appears to be basically correct.

### 3.4 THE QUADRIPARTITE PATTERN IN SPACE USE IN THE RYUKYUAN DWELLING

The quadripartite pattern underlies the spatial division in most dwellings on the Ryukyu Islands. On a superficial level, this is manifested in the predominance of the dwelling layout consisting of four rooms, analogous to the TANOJI type of the Japanese mainland. To this residential dwelling, an economical earth-floored structure, which also contains a kitchen, may be added as either its annex or a separate building; in either case they are classified by architecture-geographers as the BETSUMUNE type, analogous to that found in southern Chiba Prefecture, Hachijo Island of Tokyo Prefecture and elsewhere.

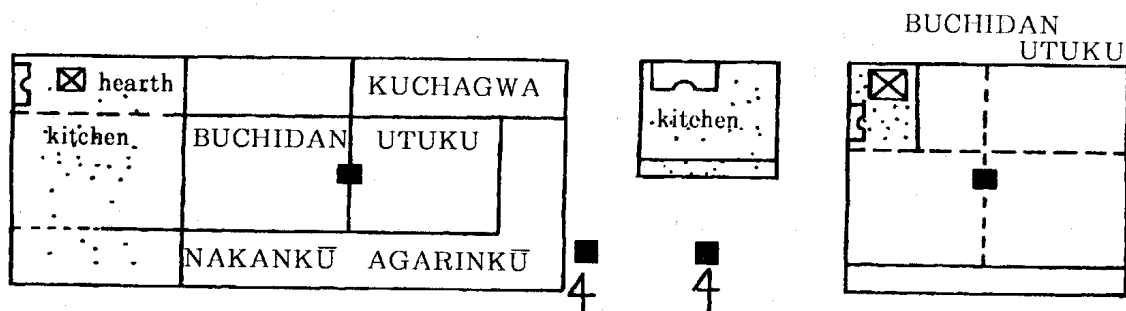


Fig. 80 : Okinawa. (a) TANOJI type, (b) undivided space. Simplified after Muratake 1985:359, Yoshida 1984:150, Nomura 1961:33, 36, 47

Notwithstanding the several major differences from the mainland Japanese dwelling, the types found in the Ryukyus are undoubtedly derived from a single source (Fig. 80). The bisected dualities that form the quadripartite pattern in the dwellings of the main Okinawan island are based on the same principle as the mainland OMOTE-URA and KAMITE-SHIMOTE. The two front rooms (facing the dwelling from the gate) are the representative space into which guests are admitted and where ceremonies and social gatherings take place. Two household altars, BUCHIDAN (comparable to BUTSUDAN) and UTUKU (TUKUME; etymologically related to TOKONOMA but different in character) are located in this section. Behind it is a private space, distinguished by being

dark and by its planked, not TATAMI floor. A hearth, to which pertains the cult of FI-NU-KAN, is located on that side. The two divisions are also marked by the sexual dichotomy, the former being identified with male activities and the latter with female (Mabuchi 1974:223, Muratake 1985:359, Yoshida 1984:150); Muratake's anecdotal example (p. 359) indicates the strong enforcement of the front/back sexual dichotomy. Besides that space being considered feminine, it serves also as a storage area for treasured objects, and as such it closely resembles in nature to NANDO (Muratake 1985:360). The perpendicular division likewise resembles that in the mainland Japanese dwelling. The AGARINKU 'eastern room', or otherwise known as "front room", is located opposite the kitchen and is considered superior to its neighboring NAKANKU 'middle room'. They are also conceptualized as "upper" and "lower" (Sasahara 1974:185). The superiority-inferiority relationship corresponds with the relative value of the two altars, the UTUKU as the "altar for deities and deified ancestors" is ritually more important than the BUCHIDAN "altar for souls of the dead". Likewise, "important guests are usually entertained in the first parlor and it is here that the rituals for deities are held, whereas the rituals relevant to death are performed in the second parlor which is also the place for social intercourse in daily life, particularly of women" (Mabuchi 1974:223). Hence, the male-female dichotomy is formed by the perpendicular axis as well: for example, if there are many guests, men occupy AGARINKU and women NAKANKU (Muratake 1985:359). This coincides with the identification of the male-female principles with the eastern-western directions, respectively. Based on these spatial relations, Mabuchi inserts the dichotomy into a diagonal scheme, in which the southeastern quarter of the dwelling (i.e. AGARINKU) is fully male and superior, while the northwestern quarter that includes the hearth is female and inferior (Fig. 81).

However, in the Ryukyus women are superior to men in ceremonial affairs, both on the village and household levels, and the practitioner of all the rituals to the three ritual points of the household is the woman; generally in most areas the housewife,

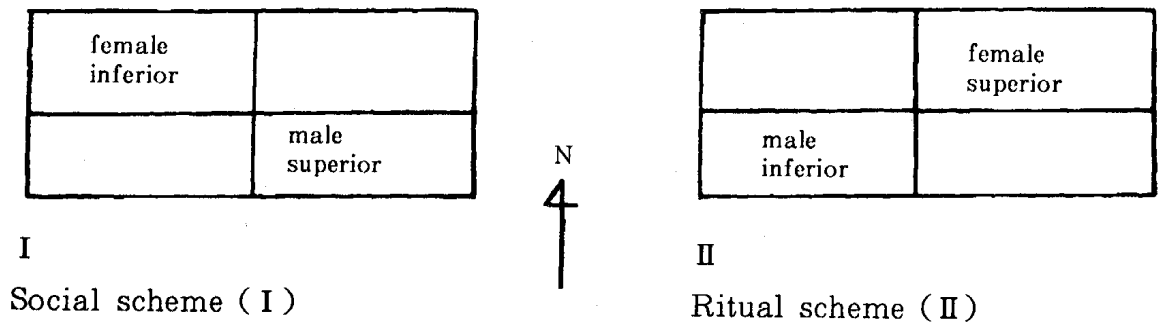


Fig. 81 : Okinawa. After Mabuchi 1974:226

although in some areas it is rather the sister, e.g. household head's, but her role is nowadays diminishing in favor to the housewife. Thus the women's concern is not only the FI-NU-KAN and BUCHIDAN, which are located in feminine zones, especially the former one, but also the UTUKU, which is located in the fully masculine quarter of the dwelling. During ceremonies that take place there, the highest seat (e.g. WAARA on Miyako island) which is located in front of the UTUKU altar in the northwestern corner of the room is taken by the female conductor of the ceremony, e.g. a priestess, a housewife or sister. In other words, the room contains two seats-of-honor, one in front of the altar for the female practitioner during ceremonies and the other on the outer side for the household head during social gatherings. On ceremonial occasions, the whole inner side of the outer room assumes the character of a female side, while men take the opposite seats, or at least, they take positions which are peripheral to the altar area (Mabuchi 1974:223, cf. Lebra 1966:183, Yoshida 1984:151). This has led Mabuchi to distinguish a scheme under ritual circumstances as separate from that under social ones (Fig. 81-II). Mabuchi (1974:225) summarizes it as follows:

"It is to be noted that, just in reverse of Scheme I, the female sides are superior to the male sides in Scheme II, here the female sides being the north and the east and the male sides the south and less manifestly the west. Thus, in both Schemes I and II, the east is superior to the west, whereas in Scheme II the north is superior to the south which is superior to the north in Scheme I. Now the north is

the direction toward which people pray or make an offering. It seems clear that such a contrast between Scheme I and Scheme II reflects particularly the general trend in the Ryukyus that the male predominates over the female in social affairs and the female over the male in religious affairs."

This aspect is similar to the general practices in the mainland Japanese dwelling, where the purely feminine area, i.e. the kitchen, belongs to the inferior zone of the dwelling (SHIMOTE), but the housewife's ritual status is exercised mainly in the NANDO, i.e. a section of the KAMITE half. Nevertheless, the exercise of the feminine ritual status on the mainland does not result in an ouster of the men to the inferior area as it tends to do according to Mabuchi in Okinawa, because the KAMITE is separated into two essentially different ritual zones, i.e. the feminine NANDO dominated by the NANDO-GAMI shelf and the masculine ZASHIKI dominated by BUTSUDAN.

Thus, the male-female dichotomy during social gatherings in Okinawa is based on the north-south axis where the central column separating the two rooms is located, while in religious ceremonies the perpendicular axis (east-west) gains prominence. The quadripartite relations are even more clearly pronounced in the Okinawan dwellings which are not partitioned, i.e. consisting of only one room (Fig. 80 b). In that arrangement, all the religious focal points, including the hearth, are lined along the northern wall, which is the feminine area; no altar is found in the fully masculine quarter diagonally opposite the hearth. It is probable that such an arrangement reflects the situation also in mainland Japan before the penetration of the official Buddhist and Shintoist cults into the dwelling, with one half (longitudinal) characterized by the domestic cults and the other generally devoid of them, the former being a female zone and the latter male. In the partitioned Okinawan dwellings where the altars are in the front rooms, on ritual occasions the axis of sexual dichotomy runs through their middle, so that the altar side is female, thus revealing a miniature version of the situation in the one-room

dwelling (perhaps the original one, nevertheless displaying a conceptual quadripartite pattern) where the altars are attached to the northern wall of the dwelling. In daily life, however, the sexual axis corresponds more fully with the actual partition of the divided Okinawan dwelling. The paradox outlined by Mabuchi may thus be less distinct in the one-room dwellings.

Except for the location of the kitchen on the front (UMITI) side, and the delivery room on the side corresponding with the mainland SHIMOTE (doubtlessly to be near the hearth regionally required for childbirth), the dwelling on Tokunoshima (Fig. 82) belongs to the same basic type. The preeminence of the back over the front is seen in the eastern door used for greeting and meeting gods.

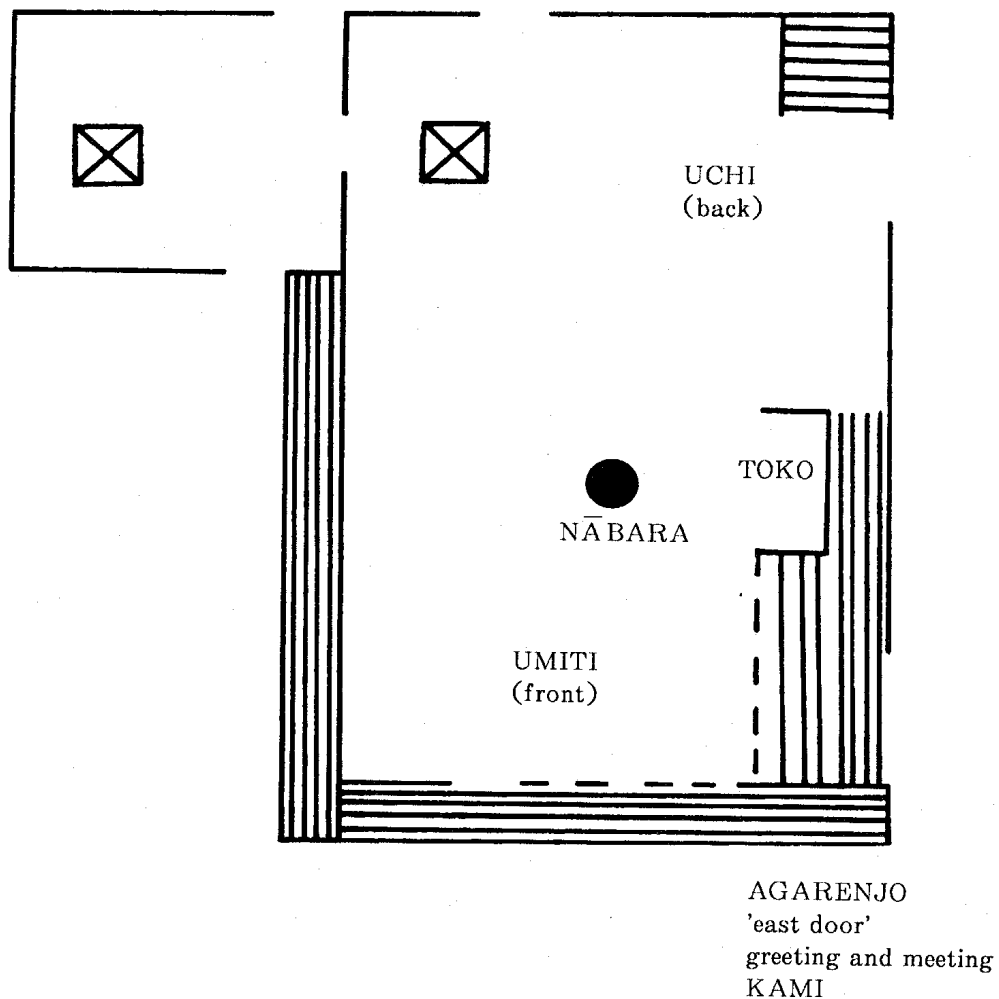


Fig. 82 : Tokunoshima. After Yoshida 1971:146 (based on Matsuyama 1971)

### 3.5 AINU, MAINLAND JAPANESE AND RYUKYUAN PATTERNS OF DWELLING SPACE ARRANGEMENT COMPARED

In all the three cases, the sum of oppositions within the quadripartite pattern is the diagonal line between the highest and lowest points of the dwelling, i.e. the household altar and the entrance. As a rule, the altar is located in a corner. Among the Ainu, the house-protecting deity is CHISE-KORO KAMUI, a masculine deity connected with men's activities and worshipped by men. Among the Japanese, the house-protecting deity (NANDO-GAMI etc.) is a feminine deity connected with agriculture and ceremonial practitioners to it are women. The latter trait corresponds to an extent with Okinawa. The area associated with the guardian deity is ritually the most important part of the dwelling and corresponds with the sides of the seats-of-honor. Among the Ainu, the most important two seats are those of the most respected guest or elder on one side of the main corner of the hearth and of the household head on the other. Among the Japanese, it is associated with the household head and the housewife. In Okinawa, the seat directly in front of UTUKU is that of a female religious practitioner during a ceremony, on secular occasions the seat tends to be vacant.

Diagonally opposite the altar, or the innermost part of the dwelling, is the entrance. Among the Ainu whose dwelling space emphasizes the male element, the cooking area is located at the lowest end of the diagonal line, in association with the entrance; on the other hand, among the mainland Japanese and Ryukyuan, whose dwellings to a certain extent emphasize the feminine element, the hearth is in a linear relationship with the altar area, i.e. it is located at the low end of the same feminine area. While among the Ainu a contrast is seen between the CHISE-KORO KAMUI and KAMUI FUCHI, the former being male concerned with the upward direction and heaven while the latter is female, expressing the downward direction and an ancestral cult, the Japanese NANDO-GAMI and KAMADO-GAMI share a number of traits in common, i.e. those

based on agricultural symbolism which manifest themselves in parallel rituals. Correspondingly, the modern Japanese BUTSUDAN which is associated with the male element is placed diagonally opposite the hearth and the female domain surrounding it.

The quadripartite pattern of the three major dwelling types of the Japanese archipelago duplicates spatial oppositions. Thus in the Ainu dwelling, the entrance being from two sides (through an anteroom and into the dwelling itself), both of which imply the notion of front. In the Japanese dwelling, the two "fronts" are the section adjacent to the earth-floored space, as well as the earth-floored space itself (SHIMOTE), and the OMOTE side. The same applies to the Ryukyuan dwelling. Generally the longitudinal front side contains windows to illuminate the interior, while the transverse one (perpendicular to the ridge axis) contains or borders on an economical, nonresidential area. There may also be a window or entrance on the back side (e.g. RORUN PUYARA in Hokkaido, AGERENJO in Tokunoshima), but it is never used for secular purposes, thus emphasizing the ritual predominance of the back side, especially that which in the quadripartite context is overlapped by the notion of "high" (RORUN, KAMI).

Another duplicated opposition concerns the male-female dichotomy. Among the Ainu the male parts of the dwelling are the

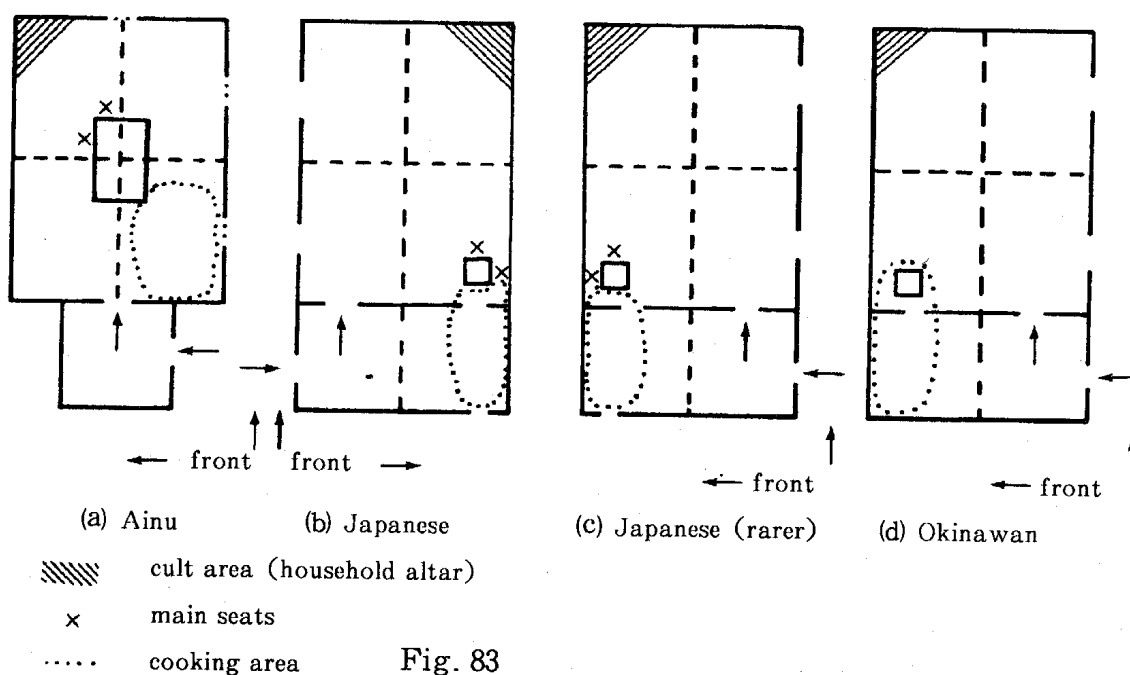


Fig. 83



primary and secondary back ones, i.e. RORUNSO and SHISO, in the Japanese (including Ryukyuan) one front (SHIMOTE) and one back (URA) are female, while one back (KAMITE) and one front (OMOTE) are male areas. However, the two perpendicular axes that form these bisected halves are not equivalent. The transverse axis dominates in the sexual dichotomy among the Hokkaido Ainu, while the longitudinal one dominates in this respect among some Ainu groups of the eastern coast of Sakhalin and in most Japanese dwellings. In Okinawa, the importance of the two axes seems to be generally equal, though subject to fluctuation depending on ritual or secular circumstances.

#### 4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

##### 4.1 THE JAPANESE DWELLING SPACE COMPARED WITH NORTHEAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

The last section has shown that the Japanese dwelling space is generally comparable to that of the Ainu, with the spatial value increasing in the direction from the entrance/economical area toward the interior/cult area. Several examples from Hokuriku region reveal types of space use that may be considered intermediate between the general Japanese and Hokkaido Ainu types. In turn, it is an obvious fact that the Ainu dwelling space reveals a close relation to the northeast Asian pattern. Concerning the seating arrangement and division of space according to the sexes, the Hokkaido Ainu pattern is related to Raenk's Type 1, i.e. the type predominant among the northern hunting, fishing and reindeer-breeding peoples. There are indications that the space in the Japanese dwellings of Jomon Era followed the same pattern, thus pointing to the direct connection of Japan with the north. The Hokkaido Ainu quadripartite pattern also indicates a slight tendency toward Raenk's Type 2 which

typically pertains to the pastoralists and agriculturalists of the Asian mainland; this tendency is especially pronounced among certain groups of Sakhalin Ainu and the Orok, who are neither pastoralists of the central Asian type nor agriculturalists, as the sexual dichotomy corresponds more to the left-right division than the back-front of Raenk's Type 1. Arrangements intermediate between Type 1 and Type 2 are also distributed in the lower Amur and Maritime Regions. The features that distinguish Type 2 are that the dichotomy of the sexes is defined according to the sides, i.e. divided by the entrance-back axis, with the male household head sitting in the middle of the back space, forming thus a secondary male division of the back as opposed to the front. The two Raenk's types are thus related and they to an extent overlap each other.

Comparing the seating arrangement around the hearth in the Japanese dwelling to the northeast Asian patterns, its similarity to the one classified by Raenk as Type 2 is evident. In the Mongol yurt, for example, the seat opposite the entrance/economic area belongs to the household head, not the guest as in Type 1. Rather, the guest sits on the right-hand side of the household head, and that whole side (left if one stands at the door, facing the interior) is considered to be male. On the left-hand side of the household head (from his viewpoint) sits the housewife, and that side (right) is considered to be female, associated with objects of the feminine use; the cooking area is in that half, on the entrance side. Exactly the same pertains to the Japanese seating arrangement. However, the values connected with it differ, the Mongol pattern emphasizing the male side, placing the household altar to that side, generally attached to the wall corresponding with the space between the household head's and guest's seats, while the Japanese pattern emphasizes the female side and the altar is located in a corner between the household head's and housewife's seat. (But the feudal-era influences placed another altar - BUTSUDAN - to the site that corresponds with that in the Mongol dwelling, and along with it the corresponding side has begun experiencing an elevation of status, i.e. a convergent

process has taken place.)

Other aspects of the Japanese arrangement of domestic space are related to the general northeast Asian type, which includes both types distinguished by Raenk. Prominent among them is the perception of space from the entrance/economic area to the interior as ascending; this is lexically expressed as SHIMO(TE) and KAMI(TE) in the Japanese dwelling. As throughout northeast Asia, mainly the middle area is used in the daily life, while the "low" (front) area is used for working and storage and the "high" (back) is predominantly a ritual space where few practical daily activities take place. Again like in northeast Asia, including Korea, the conceptual verticality is fused with an actual one, as analogous symbolism that characterizes the "high" area (KAMITE, especially NANDO), is to an extent duplicated in connection with the main column and the attic, the latter in all probability associated with both the column and the ridge. There are also certain indications, besides the similar symbolism attached to both, that the column and the ridge are one single concept, analogous to the general northeast Asian concept of a fused verticality and horizontality. The dialectal designation of the ridge-raising ceremony (MUNEAGE) by the term TATEMAE 'before construction' has led some architecture-historians to infer that the ceremony represents a fusion of column-erecting and ridge-raising ritual elements (for sources see Pezeu-Masabiau 1981:476). Thus, the relation among the ritual room (NANDO), the main column (DAIKOKU-BASHIRA) and the ridge in the Japanese dwelling is comparable to the northeast Asian concept of MALU; however, the connection is not as direct since the DAIKOKU-BASHIRA is not attached to the NANDO in the Japanese house.

Another indication of a relationship with northeast Asia is the back entrance or window which is distributed throughout northern Eurasia and which was dealt with in this study in connection with the Ainu dwelling, where it is a prominent feature. It is always located on the "high", ritual side and serves as the entrance point for deities. It is rather rare in Japan, but may be found in some areas of Hokuriku (Ishikawa Prefecture, Niigata Prefecture, cf.

Fig. 67 a, 69 b). In most areas of Japan, it was used as an entrance for a religious practitioner, and its disappearance may be attributable to the direct access to the ZASHIKI from the OMOTE side. Its presence is documented as far south as Tokunoshima of the Ryukyus (Fig. 82). An entrance for the exclusive use by deities is also found in southeast Asia (cf. the above discussion of Mentawai and Toraja dwellings), but there it is located on the front side of the house; hence, taking into account the continuous distributions of this feature in northeast Asia, as well as its ritual importance, it cannot be ruled out that its presence in Japan is genetically related. The Japanese organization of dwelling space is also linked to the northeast Asian types by the pattern classified by Raenk as Type 1, e.g. the Evenk conical tent or rectangular bark dwelling, in which the altar at MALU is directly opposite the entrance, on the male side. The same applies to Raenk's Type 2 dwelling space, e.g. the Mongol yurt, although in that pattern the cult area may be slightly to the left, in order to be on the fully male side. In the Ainu pattern, which can be considered as intermediate between Raenk's Types 1 and 2, but closer to 1, the entrance is diagonally opposite the cult area designated as SOPA, which coincides with the fully male quarter. Finally, in the Japanese pattern, the entrance is likewise diagonally opposite the traditional cult area (NANDO); however, both are in areas formed by perpendicular overlapping of the male and female zones, but the former is in a more masculine and the latter more feminine sides as in the Japanese dwelling, like in all the Raenk's Type 2 dwellings, the lateral halves are more important in defining the sexual dichotomy.

Fig. 84 schematically illustrates the possibility of viewing the various forms of organization of the dwelling space in northeast Asia as derivation of a single pattern, variants of which are caused by shifting spatial emphases, facilitated in turn by the flexibility of axial functions. (The Ainu pattern in Fig. 84 is altered to approximate the other patterns; i.e. the functions of "left" and "right" sides are opposite from dwellings of other peoples of northeast Asia. It somewhat resembles the Ainu post-

funeral seating arrangement when the other corner of the RORUN half assumes the function of SOPA and the left-right symbolism is reversed; the fact however remains that the TUNTU column and the entrance, being immobile, are not affected by the post-funeral arrangements.)

The Section 2.7 has shown the relationship among the patterns of dwelling space in northeast Asia. Raenk's Type 1 directly corresponds with Type 3; the difference between them is the lack of importance of the vertical direction and its application horizontally in Type 1 not being a pithouse, and the lack of a concentric seating arrangement also in Type 1, because of the small floor area of the tent/bark dwelling, which conforms to its inhabitants' nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. However, in larger dwellings (e.g. Ainu), traces of a concentric pattern of men forming an inner circle and women an outer is observable; also in the Japanese seating arrangement at meals the status of the

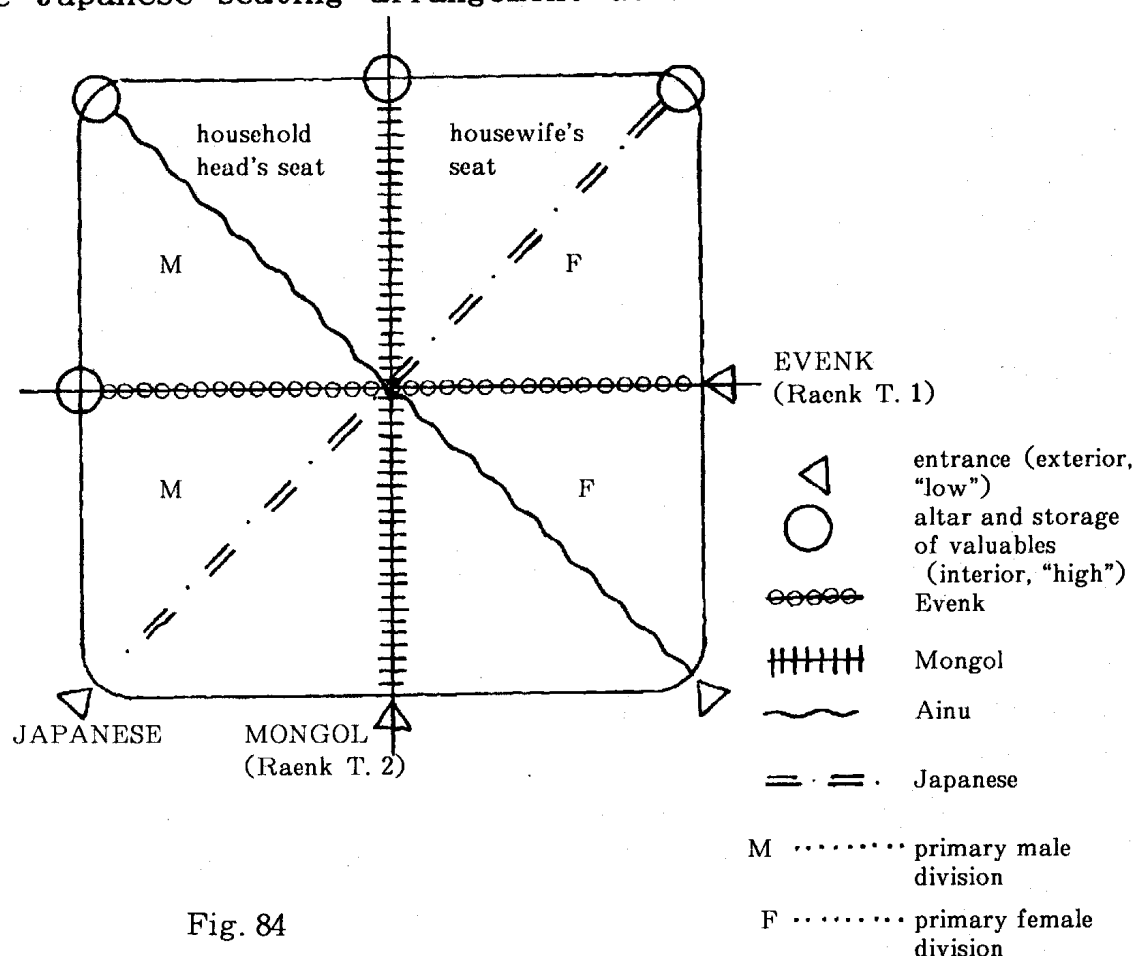


Fig. 84

household members descends in the directions away from the hearth seats YOKOZA and KAKAZA, thus contradicting the principle of status increase in the direction of KAMI (the same contradiction exists in the Koryak dwelling as well, but its degree differs as the concentric pattern is the basis of the Koryak seating arrangement); however, this fragment of the concentric pattern is not determined according to sex.

Less clear is the relationship between Raenk's Types 1 and 2. Intermediate types exist (Maritime Region, Sakhalin, Hokkaido), but they do not give any clue as to how the transition is actually achieved. A possibility suggested in 2.7 is that the agricultural role of women elevates their status in the dwelling and gains them access to the dwelling interior, in which the former arrangement of the male side at back and female at the door side (i.e. Raenk's Type 1) becomes a secondary one, while the lateral arrangement becomes decisive; this is, however, only a hypothetical suggestion. The Sakhalin Ainu and the Orok, whose spatial arrangement closely resembles Raenk's Type 2, have not experienced any agricultural tendency.

Despite the almost universal Japanese seating arrangement according to Raenk's Type 2, it is not certain whether this seating arrangement corresponds with the original situation. Mizuno (1969:3-4) interpreted the Jomon division of dwelling space as basically Type 2, however, he did not support his suggestion with adequate data. Based on the data he provided, interpreting the Jomon space as generally Type 1 appears more correct, as Obayashi (1971) has suggested. The seat designation as SHIMOZA near the door and KAMIZA opposite it, and the two lateral YOKOZA seats in certain areas of Japan, discussed above, also point rather to Type 1, not differentiating between the side seats lexically. Further, such designations seem to be the most logical as they reflect the notion of KAMI and SHIMO on their respective sides, and YOKO likewise in places that correspond with the term's meaning; as such, it may represent the original spatial notions in the Japanese dwelling, prior to the influences that may have disrupted the order by applying regionally the term YOKOZA to any of the four

sides, especially to the household head's seat, and likewise dislocated the terms KAMIZA, SHIMOZA etc. It may be possible that there was a period of time when both Type 1 and Type 2 coexisted in Japan. No evidence is available that would indicate the correspondence of the two types with chronologically identifiable strata. Nevertheless, the ceremonial platform at the back of some Jomon pithouses that indicates the superior spatial value of the fully interior area corresponds with the situation in both the contemporary Japanese dwellings (partitioned and unpartitioned) and with the spatial notion of KAMI(TE)-SHIMO(TE), and characterizes all the types of dwellings in northeast Asia where the cult area and seat-of-honor is in the interiormost space regardless the sexual dichotomy.

It has also been suggested in the previous section that among the notions of opposition which are duplicated in the quadripartite pattern, a prominent one is the one that determines the "front" and "back", and that this is followed by an shifted sexual dichotomy in the Japanese dwelling. Taking this recognition of front and back according to the axial determinant perpendicular to that discussed above, i.e. the axis that separates the longitudinal front (OMOTE) from back (URA), all the similarities with the northeast Asian patterns became irrelevant. Instead, analogies with the southeast Asian dwelling symbolism and arrangement of domestic space assume a prominent position. The dwelling of Java may be used as a model for comparison.

The entrance is on the long facade, i.e. not on the gable side. Two main divisions distinguish the internal arrangement of space, "front" and "back". The front section is open and bright, is used for reception of guests and their entertainment, and generally is considered to be the domain of men. The back side, on the other hand, is dark and fully enclosed, is used by the family but rarely by adult men, and contains a cooking and dining area. The ritually most important part of the dwelling which may be considered its core is a room which emphasizes and ritualizes the sexual relation of the married couple, with which an agricultural cult is connected. This room is an abode for a female agricultural deity,

who is both the soul of the rice plant and the guardian deity of the household, with various degrees of ancestral characteristics attached to it. The guardian of this room is the housewife, and she is also the exclusive practitioner of rituals to the house deity. The most important possessions of the household are stored in this room, and the housewife is their custodian. (In Java, this room is in the middle of the back section; however, all the rooms of that area are characterized by a similar symbolism, being under women's control and being used partially for storage of grains. Among the Sundanese, however, this room is located not in the center but at one end, but in the same section as the kitchen, never diagonally opposite it, because both are in the feminine zone. Generally, both among the Javanese and the Sundanese, the kitchen is on the right side - facing from the entrance - of the dwelling and the ritual room is to the left of it.) Despite its ritual importance, the back side of the dwelling is inconspicuous and the rituals performed by the housewife there are simple. On the other hand, the gatherings in the front section are formal, and that section is artistically more elaborate.

This description may equally characterize the Javanese and the Japanese dwellings. It does not suggest any genetic connections between the two dwellings, but rather indicates that a background of comparable cultural elements is able to produce their manifestation in broad spectra of culture. Thus, for example, the fact that the KRIS is kept in the KOBONGAN room in Java, and that the sword was presented from heaven through the KURA (which is symbolically analogous to NANDO, as shown above) in Kumano, as mentioned in Kojiki, or that both DEWI SRI and TENNIN NYOBO need a special cloth kept in the ritual room or store house to fly to heaven, etc., are not directly related, but express the analogous function of the ritual room in the dwelling of both Java and Japan.

Obviously, such analogy with the Japanese dwelling is not exhibited only by the Javanese house, but throughout insular and eastern mainland southeast Asia. It has been shown that throughout this region, the inner (back) side of dwellings



coincides with the feminine domain. This interior part of the dwelling is in Indonesia associated with the household possessions and storage of grain. (The distribution of the trait of the male-female dichotomy coinciding with front-back, respectively, is consistent throughout the region, and is clearly delimited geographically: such a pattern is absent in China, i.e. among the Han, western mainland southeast Asia, e.g. Lawa, Kachin, Karen etc., New Guinea and Melanesia.) The feminine occupancy of the back part of the dwelling is nearly universal in this area; the only exception is Toba Batak. In some dwellings (e.g. Ifugao, Atoni, Alorese, Rotinese), the male-female dichotomy of the space may rather be traced according to the lateral divisions; however, in their secondary defining of the dichotomy under the quadripartite principle, it is always the back rather than the front that is associated with the feminine activities; at any rate, even in these cases where the primary dichotomy is lateral, the female side, whether designated as right or left, is considered to be the core of the dwelling, as has been illustrated by a number of examples from eastern Indonesia (exceptions: East Sumbanese, partly Ema).

Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 have shown that in certain areas of insular southeast Asia, the women's position in the interior half of the dwelling is related to the notion of centrality and men's in the exterior with peripherality, and hence the concept of house is associated with the female principle. Related to this, it has been suggested, is the granary under the housewife's control; the back of the residential dwelling in many cases assumes the function and symbolism of a granary. In certain areas, the granary as a building of prestige has become the dominant architectural structure, assimilating the residential dwellings. But even where the granary and dwelling are architecturally separate, the back of the residential dwelling has the same function, symbolism and prestige as the granary. Such is, for example, the aboriginal Taiwanese house. Among the reasons for storing some grain in the dwelling, and particularly in the housewife's domain where her bed is and where her husband visits her, is to cause vegetal conception and the rebirth of the grain spirit. This notion is not

rare among agricultural peoples (cf. Frazer, Eliade etc.) and is very strong among the Japanese, however in insular southeast Asia its distribution is particularly extensive, and is connected with the women's relation to the vegetal soul.

It thus follows from the above that there may be a certain possibility to discern some bases for comparison of the Japanese arrangement of dwelling space with that of northeast Asia on the one hand and southeast Asia on the other, if the factor of shift of axial significance in a quadripartite pattern is taken into consideration. With the absence of solid archaeological data, and failure to provide an exhaustive ethnographic trait distribution map of both culture areas, it would be too premature to make any conclusions based on the comparability. However, instead of concluding, there may perhaps be some grounds for making certain cautions suggestions regarding the similarity of the Japanese dwelling space to northeast and southeast Asia. Namely, would not it be possible to suppose that the former represents a substratum and the latter a superstratum in the Japanese space? The former assumption can be supported by archaeological data; i.e. Jomon pithouse sites indicate that the division of space in them may have been broadly comparable to that in northeast Asia. A large number of one-room dwellings in Hokuriku as well as historical period (Edo) pithouses from mountainous regions of Tohoku indicate that this type has persisted until the modern era. Concerning the latter supposition, archaeological data are insufficient; however, if one inspects the early historical architecture, it becomes evident that the entrance is in all cases except one (Izumo Taisha) on the long side (i.e. HIRAIRI as opposed to TSUMAIRI), and that the most sacred space within it is on the back side of the longitudinal axis. If this fact is considered together with the generally accepted architectural and culture-historical thesis of derivation of the architecture and function of shrines from the granary, and that the early granary architecture corresponded with that of residential buildings of the upper layer of the stratified society, then it may be possible to infer that in the synthesis process the latter tradition

emphasized the axis of sexual dichotomy, which either had already existed or was formed simultaneously. The shrine architecture, e.g. that of the Ise style, corresponds in a number of ways with the southeast Asian (without allowing further specification) raised-floor architecture, where the entrance to the veranda on the long facade is also common. The architecture of the raised-floor granaries of the Ryukyus and Hachijo Island, however, belongs to a single architectural tradition that also includes similar granary structures in Taiwan (Paiwan), the Philippines (Batak, Ifugao) and further south, and in some places it evolved into residential buildings. Although this particular granary architecture is not documented in mainland Japan, historical evidence fully supports the view that the granary, being a symbol of status and sacredness, also served as secular residence for some households. If one accepts the view that the origin of the shrine is in the granary, then it would be possible to infer that the inner room of the shrine where the GOSHINTAI is placed originally corresponded to that part of the granary where the sacred grain was kept. In modern Japanese rural dwellings, this inner room would correspond with the URA half, especially NANDO, the room which is symbolically almost indistinguishable from the KURA. The space NANDO, as the core of the dwelling, would in this scheme represent the spatial fusion of the ritually superior spaces of both strata.

It has been shown that there are two basic types of spatial organization in dwellings in southeast Asia, i.e. 1. insular-east mainland and 2. west mainland. Although in the western part of the mainland there may be some types resembling the Japanese space arrangement (e.g. the Burmese-Arakanese dwelling), it is probable that they represent a coincidence that has converged from different sources. The major type of that region is quite different both from the Japanese and the other southeast Asian pattern, because of the following factors: 1. The male-female dichotomy is poorly defined. 2. The use of space favors the male element, as the men's domain which includes the guest's seat-of-honor is in the interior. 3. The bedroom of the household head and the housewife, in which the main altar is often located, belongs to

the domain of the former. 4. The hearth and the cooking area are often diagonally opposite the innermost room, in a public area associated with the entrance. 5. The agricultural ritual tends to be confined to the granary, and is not conducted exclusively by the housewife.

If the concept of strata is applicable to the Japanese dwelling, it is necessary to add one more stratum, which is historically identifiable. Like the second stratum, the impetus is from upper-class houses. The characteristics that make up the room ZASHIKI started penetrating the Japanese rural dwelling during the early Middle Ages and introduced such features as TOKONOMA, BUTSUDAN, TATAMI floor etc. This stratum was laid upon the already existing quadripartite pattern, and is observable in the Heian Period SHINDEN-ZUKURI style of dwelling space (Fig. 85)

which emphasizes the opposition of notions of ritual purity (HARE versus KE), and coincides with the quadripartite male-female dichotomy. Originally, this influence had little impact on the rural Japanese dwelling; however, since late Edo and Meiji Eras its importance radically increased, a process

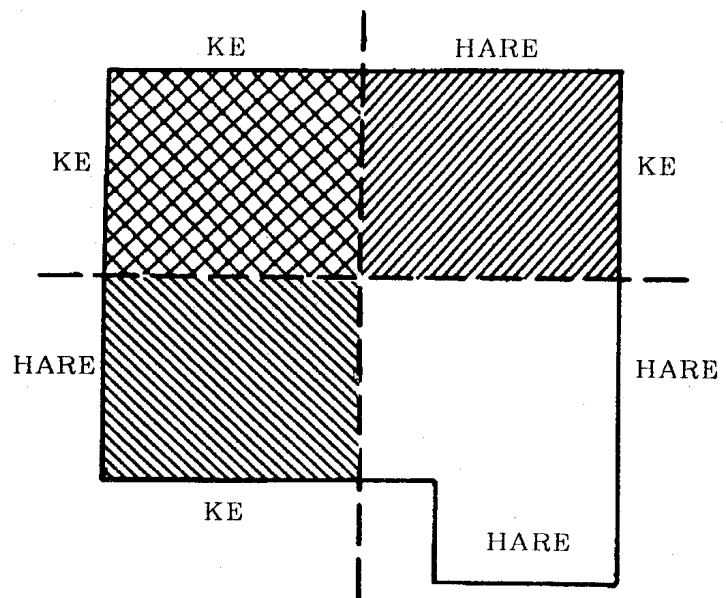


Fig. 85: SHINDEN-ZUKURI. After Konishi 1969:28 (The fully HARE quarter corresponds with ZASHIKI)

continuing at the present day. TATAMI mats have gradually spread to all the rooms, which is especially evident when a house is rebuilt; effort is made that TATAMI mats are inserted in all the rooms. One may at the present time observe in various prefectures that when a new house is built, the shelf for the NANDO deity is removed from the old house and its ancestral aspects are

transferred to the BUTSUDAN and agricultural to KAMIDANA altars of the OMOTE side. The hearth had already lost its ritual symbolism earlier due to the universal use of KAMADO; with its continuing disappearance from the house, the social significance of the hearth room of URA has also decreased, and at present, the neighboring IMA/GENKAN space of OMOTE has assumed the function of a space where most of the leisure time is spent; television is generally placed there. In a foreseeable future, it is to be expected that OMOTE will be the dominant part of the Japanese dwelling.

The Chinese dwelling has also played a certain role in the culture-history of the Japanese dwelling space, especially in the determination of auspicious and inauspicious directions, and the layout of the estate. It may have also contributed to the stabilization of the axial inversion in the dwelling, because of its strong notion of seclusion of women. However, it does not seem to have played a dominant role. The typical Chinese dwelling with the central altar room and rows of separate rooms on its sides is quite different from the Japanese pattern. The preeminence of URA over OMOTE, like the high position of the housewife in the household, are notions Japan holds in common with southeast Asia, not China. No explicitly defined female area pertains to the Han dwelling, which can be considered wholly male-dominated.

In this connection, it is necessary to note that the Korean dwelling resembles to a remarkable degree the Japanese dwelling and it is probably due to a parallel culture-historical development. This can be seen not only in the physical aspects of the dwelling, with the residential floor raised to approximately the same level as the Japanese dwelling and an earthen-floor space attached to it, which is like the Japanese dwelling utilized as a horse stable (front) and kitchen (back), but also in non-material aspects. It has been shown in section 2.7 that a number of concepts resemble and with all probability are derived from Siberian ones, particularly the notions of verticality and horizontality. The ceremonial space is designated by a term common among the Tungus-Manchu-speaking peoples. However, this

room is on ceremonial occasions fully a feminine domain. The relation to the Japanese dwelling is especially visible in the eastern parts of the Peninsula where the rooms corresponding with the Japanese OMOTE (i.e. SARANGBANG) are a men's area, where Confucian rules are strictly observed, and to which women have limited access, while the rooms corresponding with URA (i.e. KOBANG, ANBANG, etc.) are the housewife's area where shelves for the house protecting deities (SONGJU, SHINJU etc.) are located. This guardian deity is materialized in the form of a jar filled with rice, corresponding to the Japanese KOMEDAWARA in the NANDO. Like in the Japanese house, that part of the dwelling is considered to be the core of the household, with which the housewife is often identified (cf. titles such as CHIPSARAM etc.), while the guest rooms are oriented toward the outside. Thus, the space use in the Korean dwellings on the eastern side of the Peninsula closely resembles that in present-day Japan, while those of the other side of the Peninsula, particularly on the islands of Chollanamdo, reflect a situation that may have existed in Japan before the introduction of formal religions into households; i.e. the house is dominated by a ritual space based on the presence of an agricultural guardian deity, the priest to whom is the housewife.

#### 4.2 THE OCCUPANCY OF THE INTERIOR PART OF DWELLING SPACE

Paulson has shown on Siberian and some north American examples that one of the ways that men's high status expresses itself is their domain in the interior of the dwelling where the altar to the household's guardian spirit is located; in accordance with this, women are "ousted" to the front. This study has shown that this suggestion can be applied to the western part of the mainland southeast Asia, especially its mountainous part, though in less extreme terms than Paulson's. Paulson attributed this phenomenon to patriarchy, by which he meant either patriliney combined with a high status of men, or the former only. In Siberia,

patriliney coincides with the men's high status within the household, even among peoples with uxori-local residence such as the Yukaghir. In mainland southeast Asia, however, it is impossible to speak in such absolute terms. It was repeatedly suggested in earlier literature (e.g. Loeb and Broek 1974), that mainland southeast Asia, in particular its parts inhabited by Tibeto-Burmese speakers, is underlied by patriliney, as opposed to the originally matrilineal Austronesians, but solid evidence to such claims is lacking. Nevertheless, the area inhabited by patrilineal peoples in that of southeast Asia is relatively compact, and this may possibly be related to the fact that the dwelling space, according to Paulson's criteria, favors men.

Equally problematic would be the application of a correlation between the interior domain of women and broad social structure in Indonesia and the eastern part of the mainland. Paulson was cautious enough to be silent on any possibility of extension of his theory in this direction; he was merely speaking of a general strong "patriarchy". This study has shown that in the eastern and southern parts of southeast Asia the sharply defined division of space according to the sexes places women to the interior and men to the exterior parts. This aspect is more evident and perhaps more functional in insular southeast Asia than in eastern mainland. Such an arrangement pertains to the societies with matrilineal, patrilineal and bilateral descent systems; however, in the majority of cases it is associated simply with the high status of women in the household independently from the kinship system of the society. Matriliney and bilateral descent obviously are of no hindrance to women's domestic authority, and in the east Indonesian patrilineal societies the importance attributed to the affinal relations is utilized to safeguard the housewife's prestige. More than the social structure, the women's high domestic status correlates with role in the agricultural ritual. Throughout Indonesia the core domestic position of women is expressed architecturally. Such phenomena are evident in west Indonesian matrifocal households, where the domain of women is the house itself, to which men's access is limited and confined to

its peripheral parts.

A possible reason why Paulson avoided the discussion of the manifestation of a high status of women, or perhaps "matriarchy" in his terms, in the domestic seating arrangement, although he was discussing north America which contains abundant cases of matriliney which may give rise to an elevated status of women, was that he did not expect to find any such correlation. Indeed, in view of the fact that matriliney is not a mirror reflection of patriliney, it would seem rather unlikely to find the housewife being seated on a formal seat-of-honor as its sole occupant (although there apparently are such cases, cf. the above-mentioned Penobscot). Further, nowhere there is a case of a housewife assuming the status of a household head, if her husband, brother or another male is alive and able. The fact thus is that women's status is expressed in a subtle way. Many cases from Indonesia show that in the presence of two columns, the one on the front side representing the male principle and the other at the back representing the female principle, only the front one is decorated and subject to public rituals; the female column is simple and outwardly no attention is paid to it. Most ethnographies dealing with Indonesia simply state that the front column is more important than the back one, without much further elaboration. However, it is necessary to recognize the major difference in their status; the front one is more likely to be oriented toward the outside while the back one is concerned with life of the household, its safety, nutrition, health, etc., and hence solely for the purpose of the household's well-being, the rear column may be considerably more significant. This applies to the whole ritual area within the female part of the dwelling; the column on the female side may not be seen by any outside person, and the rituals concerned with agriculture which are performed by women in an enclosed room are fully of a private character, their purpose not transcending the boundaries of direct concerns of the household. The Javanese KOBONGAN, for example, is often described as a hidden room of the housewife, and the rituals performed there by her as secret, but it is indisputable that the



room constitutes the core of the household, no matter how grandiose the WAYANG and TOPENG performances in the PENDAPA may be.

No such ritual dichotomy typifies the dwelling space that favors the male element among the areas considered in this study. In both western mainland southeast Asia and east Siberia, if the cult area is associated with a particular column, it is generally the column at the back of the dwelling space, an area associated with predominantly a male occupancy. No monopolization of a major domestic ritual by the female sex characterizes these regions (although women may possess various secondary guardian deities, e.g. the native lineage deity NAJIL of the Evenk, kitchen deities etc.). No enclosed room for a ritual seclusion of women typifies the dwelling of either area and also China, and if there is a room enclosed by partitions in western mainland southeast Asia (e.g. Thai), it is associated with the occupancy of the household head, whose position is on the column or altar side, while his wife sleeps further away from it, thus contrasting with the sleeping arrangements in most parts of insular southeast Asia.

The aspect of subtlety which covers the central position of the housewife in Indonesian households is present in the Japanese households as well, where patriarchal traditions are very shallow and apparent only on surface, i.e. in the recognition of the household head's role as its representative. The seat YOKOZA, the priority in the bathing order, the several steps ahead of his wife when walking in public, the military-like orders he may issue to his wife, again especially in public, etc., are manifestations of this largely ceremonial role of the household head as they appear on the surface. It is equally recognized that the actual roles drastically change below the surface, and that the housewife is the indisputable manager of the household affairs. This encompasses all the aspects of the household life. The woman's role in agriculture gives her an equal status to her husband as a provider, and all the financial matters are handled by her. The household head's income is generally fully managed and controlled by his wife. It follows that the storage of all the possessions in

the KURA and/or NANDO is controlled by the housewife. In the ritual aspects pertinent to the household's life which includes agricultural, ancestral and other elements, likewise, the household head traditionally (before the introduction of formal altars) plays a minor or no role; rather, he is more concerned with the community's UJIGAMI or other public ceremonial institutions. His role is negligible in raising children, as he is often absent and when present, he appears to be indifferent to the household's internal matters. This leads to the general absence of patriarchal emulation by the sons. Internally within the household, therefore, the strongest links are those between the housewife and her children, which on the emotional level persist beyond the physical limits of the household. The pivotal position of the housewife within the household manifests itself in her role as mother, and consequently is recognized especially by the children (cf. Tsuboi 1985:22).

In the light of the evidence, it is possible to conclude that the tendency of spatial favoring of the female element within the Japanese dwelling corresponds with the actual relations among the household co-residents. The spatial manifestation of these relations appears comparable to that in southeast Asia, especially its insular parts.

#### 4.3 THE QUADRIPARTITE PATTERN

The TANOJI-type of room arrangement, despite its late finalization (the last partitioning is attributed by architecture-historians to the late Edo Era in most parts of Japan; this process is continuing in various parts of Tohoku at present), is the most dominant among all the types that exist in Japan, and is the logical result of the quadripartite allocation of space in the Japanese rural dwelling.

It was stated in the introductory section, and shown on some examples, that the ultimate result of a perpendicular duplication

of oppositions is their diagonal arrangement. Thus in Europe and Madagascar, the quarter of the dwelling formed by a perpendicular overlapping of two halves that can be characterized as male domains is located diagonally opposite a similar quarter made up of feminine halves; the former is accompanied by the presence of an altar and the household head's and/or guest's seat-of-honor, while the latter is characterized by the presence of a hearth and/or a cooking area. This also concerns the modern Japanese dwelling, in which the seats-of-honor at TOKONOMA and BUTSUDAN in ZASHIKI are diagonally opposite the hearth, stove and cooking areas. Among other peoples of eastern Asia, this also concerns the dwellings of Ainu (altar - kitchen), Altayans (altar/seat-of-honor - kitchen), Ami (men's altar - kitchen/female altar), Arakanese (Buddhist altar - kitchen), Atoni (male seat-of-honor - kitchen), Balinese compound (main temple-kitchen), Bru (male seat-of-honor - kitchen), Buginese (male seat-of-honor - kitchen), East Sumbanese (ancestral altar/male seat-of-honor - kitchen), Ema (male seat-of-honor - kitchen), Evenk and other Siberian hunting and reindeer-breeding peoples (household head's seat - kitchen), Karen (altar - kitchen), Lamet (household head's room - kitchen), Lawa (altar/household head's seat-of-honor - kitchen), Loinang (household head's seat - kitchen), Makassarese (male column/seat-of-honor - kitchen), Mongol (altar/seat-of-honor - kitchen), Muong (altar room - kitchen), Rotinese (male column/ seat-of-honor - kitchen), Savunese (male ceremonial area - female ceremonial area/kitchen), Thai (male column - kitchen), Yakut (altar/seat-of-honor - kitchen).

The entrance to the dwelling, being the border between the outside world and the household, is also often placed at one end of the diagonal line. In those dwellings that spatially favor the male element, the door is placed in the general area of the kitchen, thus making it a public area (Ainu, Altayans, Evenk, Kachin, Karen, Lamet, Lawa, Mongol, Thai, Yakut). On the other hand, in those dwellings that favor the female element by placing men to the periphery, the entrance area is associated with the guests' seat-of-honor and often an altar to a masculine deity

(Atoni, Belu, Bru, Buginese, East Sumbanese, Ema, Javanese, Loinang, Makassarese, Mentawai, Niasan, Rotinese, Savunese, Sundanese, Toraja, Yao). Among the Japanese, the door is diagonally opposite the ritual space NANDO, the seat of the household's guardian spirit and storage of possessions. The entrance is in a similar relationship among the Ainu (with an altar, storage of possessions and a seat-of-honor; the entrance can be considered as diagonal as it follows two perpendicular directions), Buginese (with a major column and a partitioned-off ritual room), Kachin (with the household altar and the main seat-of-honor), Karen (with the household altar), Lahu (with the household altar and the household head's private room), Lamet (with the household head's private room), Lawa (with the household altar and the household head's seat), Loinang (with the space where valuables are stored), Savunese (with a partitioned-off women's ritual and storage room), Thai (northern only?, with the household head's partitioned-off room and altar) and Toba Batak (especially visible in seating arrangement in the kitchen, with the household head's seat). This, however, concerns only the main door: secondary entrances may either give the character of a secondary front to a lateral area, or reinforce the interiority or the back area by restricting its use to only those individuals who are associated with it. Various doors with a restricted use may pertain to the notions of privacy, gender dichotomy, or sacredness, and may be considered both inferior and superior.

With only very few exceptions, the cooking hearth area or a certain part of it is simultaneously the feminine domain, often where the two perpendicular halves overlap, thus making it a fully feminine quarter, diagonally opposite the male. However, this quarter is in the dwellings emphasizing the male element considered to be the lowest area among the four, and even where the emphasis is on the female element, it may not always be considered a superior area; i.e., despite the fact that it is the place where the housewife's activities are the most evident, it cannot always be considered her representative seat in social and ceremonial affairs. First, as shown in the introductory section on

the examples from Europe, on family gatherings she relocates to the quarter where the seat-of-honor of the household head is, i.e. diagonally opposite the stove corner, but nevertheless she takes a seat as close to the diagonal axis as possible (e.g. Ami). Another choice she has is to move next to her husband's seat, disregarding the direction to the cooking area (e.g. Ainu, Evenk). An intermediate choice between the above two for the housewife to be seated is on the general side of the kitchen, but closer to the main seat occupied by her husband (e.g. Yakut, Mongol, Japanese - the latter less clear because of the small circle of the seating arrangement, but indicated by the fact that it is the direction toward the housewife's ceremonial area, i.e. NANDO). The first choice thus involves her relocation to the fully male area where she maintains her link with her base by a proximity to or identification with the diagonal line, while the second and the intermediate choices involve her movement from the fully feminine area (kitchen) to a sexually neutral, but nonetheless feminine area due to the dominance of one axis over the other. In insular southeast Asia, however, her seat is generally static, and the other household members take their seats in accordance with the direction to their domain.

The two diagonally arranged quarters that are overlapped by both oppositions of a set (e.g. in the dichotomy of the sexes, both male and female), may be considered as neutral in the context of that particular set; however, the category "betwixt and between" that Leach operates with, i.e. a third element added to mediate or resolve an opposition, is hardly applicable, as they generally have their own defined functions which differ from both the quarters overlapped by the same trait of the set (e.g. male and male) and from each other (e.g., NANDO and GENKAN are of an entirely different character, though technically both are characterized as sexually neutral areas; likewise, different are the Ainu back-right and front-left quarters, Ami high-front and low-back quarters, similar notions among the Arakanese, Atoni, East Sumbanese etc.), depending on the association of the given set with other sets, the importance of an axis (e.g. among the Japanese,

the longitudinal one is stronger than the transverse one in determining the male-female dichotomy) etc. On the other hand, the presence of the "betwixt-and-between" zone in some dwellings is undeniable, but its function is vaguely conceptualized and, as shown above, does not modify the quadripartite pattern.

The vertical direction may also apply to the horizontal quadripartite plane, as shown above on the case of northeast Asia (but by no means limited to it as the concepts of high and low characterize the spatial division in many southeast Asian houses as well, e.g. Yao, Ami, Buginese etc.). However, the presence of verticality cannot be taken as an intrusion of a fifth element to the quadripartite pattern, as it is largely a symbolic notion, practically non-functional for residential purposes (except perhaps among the Paleoasian pithouse dwellers) and is fully incorporated into the quadripartite horizontal plane.

In the quadripartite pattern, the sexual dichotomy may be duplicated according the two perpendicular axis along with other notions of opposition (e.g. male with public, exterior and female with private, interior among most insular southeast Asians, or vice versa among the Evenk, Amur peoples, Ainu, Lamet, Lawa), or may be duplicated independently from other notions (e.g. male with interior according to one definition and with exterior according to the other among the Japanese, East Sumbanese etc.), or may not be duplicated at all while other notions are (this is common in both insular and mainland southeast Asia; for example, the existence of perpendicularly duplicated public and private halves lead to the partitioning of one quarter, even though the sexual dichotomy is not duplicated).

The quadripartite pattern, seen in a geographical and historical perspective, reveals a great flexibility of its mechanism. To conform to various cultural and social notions, the relative significance of the two axes may shift, alliances among notions may change (e.g. the East Sumbanese utilize the quadripartite pattern in such a way as to render the male area of the dwelling interior to spatially adjust to the men's status, without however modifying radically the underlying general

arrangement of space prevalent throughout that area; the dwellings of north and south Nias, though basically related, may have rearranged their notions of interiority and exteriority as a result certain cultural impulses etc.), single sets may duplicate themselves in alliance with the sets already duplicated (e.g., if a single male-female set corresponds to one set of a duplicated public-private opposition, it becomes easy for the former to become a quadripartite set by allying itself with the latter), etc.

It is this flexibility of the quadripartite pattern that may have enabled the hypothetically suggested shift of notions in the Japanese dwelling, giving the female element the core of the dwelling, located in its redefined interior.

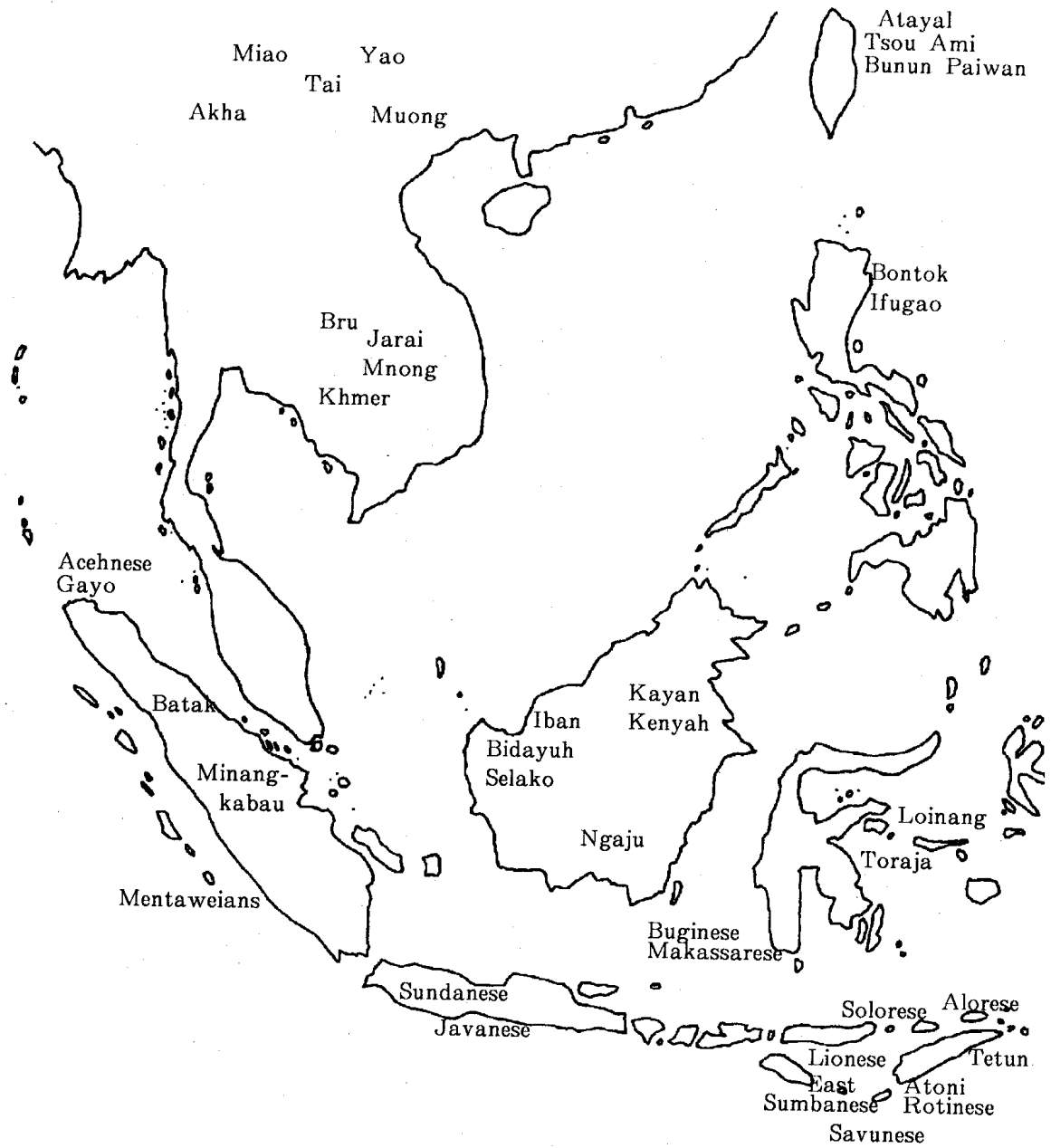
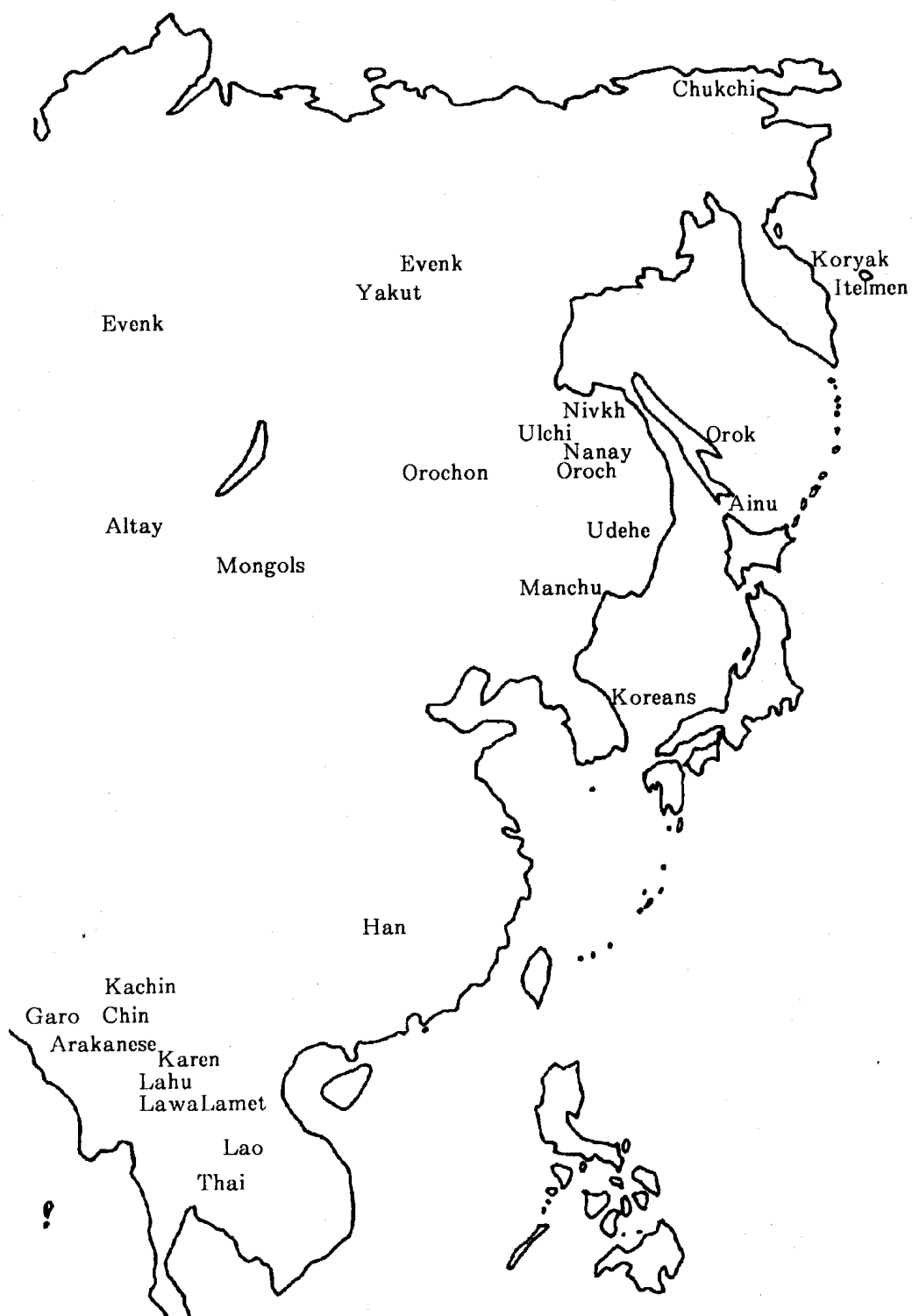


Fig. 86 : Ethnic groups referred to in Section 2.2



Fig. 87 : Ethnic groups referred to in Section 2.3



## GLOSSARY

BENA/BONA: 'Root of a tree'. One of the most important sections of the Batak house.

BILEK/BILIK: 'Room' in Malayic languages. Interior "compartment" section of west-Borneo longhouses and Minangkabau dwellings. Generally female domain.

BILIRIK: Seat of honor in Yakut dwellings.

BULUL: Ifugao wooden idol representing the grain, field, granary, house and family protecting deity.

DAIDOKORO/OYUE: Term that generally refers to the hearth (IRORI) room in the Japanese dwelling. Not necessarily for cooking, but always used as a dining area of the house. Formed by bisection of SHIMOTE and URA. Directionally and in character corresponds with the combination of KAKAZA and KIJIRI hearth seats.

DAIKOKU BASHIRA: Main column in the Japanese house. Formerly often central.

DEWI SRI: Javanese and Sundanese agricultural and house-protecting female deity. Residence in the interior-most part of the dwelling. Ritual practitioner is the housewife.

EBISU BASHIRA: Column second in importance to DAIKOKU BASHIRA in the Japanese dwelling. Often absent.

GENKAN/IMA: Exterior-most room in the Japanese dwelling. Formed by overlapping of OMOTE with SHIMOTE and corresponds with the combination of KYAKUZA and KIJIRI hearth seats.

GOAH: Sundanese equivalent to Javanese KOBONGAN. Interior-most room, storage of valuables and grain, residence of the female agricultural deity (DEWI SRI). Housewife's domain.

HIRAIRI: Entrance to the Japanese dwelling on its long side. Its distribution predominates over TSUMAIRI.

JABU: Compartment and its residential unit in the Batak house (generally 6 in Toba, 8 in Karo).

JOGLO: Roof style in upper-class Javanese dwellings, characterized by its nearly pyramidal form.

KAKAZA: Second most important hearth seat after YOKOZA in the Japanese dwelling: housewife, women. Corresponds with URA division.

KAMI: 'Upper', superior. A Japanese category referring to a variety of notions, including dwelling space. In binary relationship with SHIMO.

KAMITE: Transverse division of the Japanese dwelling space. Superior to SHIMOTE.

KAMIZA: 'Upper seat'. At hearth it generally corresponds with YOKOZA, often is used concerning seating arrangements outside the hearth room or house (meetings, weddings etc.).

K'ANG: Benches heated from pipes running through them from cooking stoves to chimneys. North Han, Manchu (NAHAN), ethnic groups of the lower Amur river. Related to Korean ONDOL.

KIJIRI/SHIMOZA: Least important hearth seat in the Japanese dwelling: daughter-in-law, maid, servant, children, often vacant.

KOBONGAN/BOMA: Interior-most room in the Javanese dwelling. Storage of treasures (PUSAKA), residence of agricultural and house-protecting goddess (DEWI SRI). Agricultural symbolism associated with marital union.

KURA: Japanese store house for various objects, including grain. Symbolically and ritually similar to NANDO of the dwelling.

KYAKUZA: Third hearth seat in importance in the Japanese dwelling: male guests, sons, male relatives. Corresponds with OMOTE division.

MALU/MALO/MALE: Seat of honor, ceremonial, interior space; roof ridge, main column; household's guardian deity. Tungusic peoples, Koreans, Ob-Ugrians.

NANDO/HEYA: Storage room and bedroom for the householding couple in the Japanese dwelling. Symbolism of human and vegetal reproduction. Ritually similar to KURA. Housewife's domain in secular and ritual life. Formed by overlapping of KAMITE with URA divisions. Corresponds with the combination of YOKOZA and KAKAZA hearth seats.

NANDO-GAMI: House-protecting and agricultural deity residing in the NANDO space of the Japanese dwelling. Often female deity, protects especially women (e.g. in delivery) and is worshipped mainly by the housewife. Associated with TA-NO-KAMI.

OMAH BURI/JERAMBAH: Core of the Javanese dwelling located at back, site of the ritual room KOBONGAN. Generally feminine domain.

OMOTE: Longitudinal division of the Japanese dwelling, contains ZASHIKI and GENKAN rooms. Predominantly male domain.

ONDOL: Korean heating system of pipes running underneath the floor. Elaboration of the Chinese-Manchu K'ANG.

PENDAPA: Front section of the Javanese dwelling, unenclosed, generally male space. In upper-class houses it is the site of theater gatherings.

PUSAKA: Term used in many parts of insular southeast Asia, referring to household's treasured objects (e.g. Javanese KRIS). Kept in interior of dwelling.

RUMA/UMA: One of Austronesian terms for 'house'. Includes 'longhouse'.

SHIMO: 'Lower', inferior. A Japanese category, in binary relationship with KAMI.

SHIMOTE: Transverse division of of the Japanese dwelling. Inferior to KAMITE.

SHIMOZA: 'Low seat'. At hearth it generally corresponds with KIJIRI; often refers to a position in seating arrangement outside house.

SONGJU: Southwest Korean house-protecting, ancestral and agricultural deity. Ritual practitioners are generally women.

SOPA: Honorific quarter of the Ainu dwelling, associated with TUNTU column and centrality. In Sakhalin Ainu pithouses in actual center.

TANOJI: Regular quadripartite Japanese dwelling, most widespread type in Japan. It does not include the less common irregular quadripartite KUICHIGAI type.

TA-NO-KAMI: Field protecting deity and grain spirit in Japan. Related to and seasonally identical with NANDO-GAMI; character and gender vary regionally.

TENGAH-LUAR: Two basic divisions in Malay and other houses. TENGAH 'center' - interior house, female space. LUAR 'outside' - exterior section (veranda), male space. Often a window is cut in the wall separating the two sections, used by women to watch from inside men's ceremonies.

TSUMAIRI: Entrance to the Japanese dwelling on its short side. According to some specialists (e.g. M. Fujita), it is the original pattern, preceding the more recent HIRAIRI.

TUNTU/TONTO: Ainu main column and house-protecting deity (CHISE-KORO KAMUI).

TURU: "World tree", represented by a centrally erected larch in Evenk and other dwellings, signifies 'column' in a number of Tungusic languages.

UJUNG: 'Top of tree'. One of the two most important sections of the Batak house.

URA: Longitudinal division of the Japanese dwelling space. Predominantly female domain. Corresponds with the KAKAZA hearth seat. Contains NANDO and DAIDOKORO rooms.

XOIMOR: Seat of honor in the Mongol dwelling.

YOKOZA: Most honorable hearth seat in the Japanese dwelling: household head, HONKE head, priest. Corresponds with KAMITE division.

ZASHIKI/KAMINOMA: Formal reception room in the Japanese dwelling. Site of BUTSUDAN, TOKONOMA and often KAMIDANA. Formed

by bisection of KAMITE and OMOTE. Corresponds with the combination of YOKOZA and KYAKUZA hearth seats.

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